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Grierson Commemoration

VOLUME

Published

BY

The Linguistic Society of India

LAHORE.

1936.

THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA.

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FOREWORD.

It was in 1928 that the Grierson Commemoration volume was undertaken by the Linguistic Society of India. So many years have naturally involved considerable inconvenience for the writers of the various papers and disappointment to the Society. But the conditions under which the work was undertaken were far from encouraging. The phonetic types had to be originally cast in India by the Mercantile Press, Lahore, a process which required considerable time. The proofs were to be generally read by the Secretary unaided. These circumstances delayed the printing.

The Punjab University generously contributed Rs. 1000 to the publication of this work. Our thanks are particularly due to Dr. A. C. Woolner, the Vice-Chancellor.

As regards the merits of the work, we leave it to the critical public to judge them. But we cannot help expressing our supreme satisfaction at the consummation of a work embodying such a vast range of subjects.

SIDDHESWAR VARMA,

1. 1. 1936. •

Prince of Wales College, Jammu.

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A Biographical Note on Sir George A. Grierson.

Sir George Abraham Grierson, O. M., K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S. (Retired), son of late George Abraham Grierson, LL. D., Barrister-at-Law, of Rathfarnham House, Co. Dublin, was born on 7th January, 1857.

Education.

He was educated at Shrewsbury School and at the age of 17 he entered Trinity College, Dublin. There he obtained Mathematics Honours and he studied Sanskrit under Professor Robert Atkinson. There he gained Sanskrit exhibition twice and won a Hindustani exhibition—the highest rewards given by the University in those days for proficiency in the languages. To Professor Atkinson he owes that enthusiasm for Oriental, and especially for Indian languages, with which his name is principally associated by Oriental Scholars.

Career:—

He passed the open competition for the Civil Service of India in 1871 and arrived in India in 1873. While he served in Bengal in the districts of Howrah, Murshedabad and Rangpur, he succeeded in gaining degrees of high proficiency in Bengali and Sanskrit; joined the Bengal Asiatic Society; and wrote a grammar and published specimens of the peculiar Bengali dialect spoken in Rangpur. While in Bihar he wrote his seven grammars of the Bihar Dialects and his famous *Bihar Peasant Life* by which his name was brought prominently before oriental scholars in Europe. In September 1894, Sir George Grierson attended the Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva as a delegate of the Government of Bengal, of the Bengal Asiatic Society and of the Calcutta University. In 1898 he was placed on special duty with the Government of India in charge of Linguistic Survey of India, a monumental work which was completed by him. He retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1903 and since then he has been interested in the study of Philology and of the various vernaculars.

Distinctions:—

Sir George Grierson is a Ph. D. (Honoris Causa) 1894 of the University of Halle; Litt. D. (Honoris Causa) Dublin University 1902; LL. D. (Hon.) Oxford University 1929; Vagisha (Bihar and Orissa); O. M. 1923; K. C. I. E. 1912 and C. I. E. 1894. Fellow of the British Academy; Hon. Fellow of Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences; Hon. Member of American Oriental Society; Benares, Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabha, Société Finno Ougrienne, International Phonetic Association, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Modern Language Association, Linguistic Society of India, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Bangyia Sahitya Parishad; Correspondant Etranger de l'Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres); Hon. Foreign Associate Member of the Société Asiatique de Paris; Corresponding member of the Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; late President Gypsy Lore Society; Hon. Vice-President Royal Asiatic Society; Prix Volney (Académie Française) 1905; Gold Medallist Royal Asiatic Society, 1909; Campbell Memorial Medal (R. A. S. Bombay), 1923; Gold Medal, British Academy, 1928; Sir William Jones, Gold Medal (Asiatic Society of Bengal), 1929; Church of Ireland.

Important Publications.

Handbook of the Kaithi Character; Grammar Chrestomathy of the Maithilī Language; Seven Grammars of the Bihār Dialects; Bihār Peasant Life; The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān; The Satsaiyā of Bihārī; Essays on Kāshmīrī Grammar; The Languages of India; Linguistic Survey of India; Piśāca Languages of North-Western India; Manual of the Kāshmīrī Language; Lall Vākyaṇī (with L. Barnett); Ishkāshmī, Zēbākī, and Yāzghulāmī; Editor and Translator of Hātim's Tales; the Torwālī Language; Editor and Translator of Kāshmīrī Śrī Kṛishnāvatāra Līlā; Editor of Kāshmīrī Śiva Parīṇaya and Śrī Rāmāvatāra Carita; Editor of Waterfield's Lay of Albā; Dictionary of the Kāshmīrī Language; translator of Vidyāpati's Puruṣa Parīkṣhā, under the title of The Test of a Man; and many papers in the Journals of Oriental Societies.

GRIERSON COMMEMORATION VOLUME



Sir George Abraham Grierson.

• **COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS**

PRESENTED TO

SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON,

O. M., K C.I.E., PH. D., D. LITT., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S., (RETIRED),
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VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY.



THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, LAHORE.

1933.

THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS, THE WORK OF FRIENDS AND
ADMIRERS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES,
IS PRESENTED IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION TO

Sir George Abraham Grierson

UPON THE COMPLETION OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA
AND UPON HIS GETTING O. M. IN RECOGNITION THEREOF

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THE GROUPING OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

By A. Berriedale Keith

Holger Pedersen in a very interesting paper¹ has adduced evidence to show that Italo-Celtic, Tocharian, Phrygian, and Hittite constituted at a remote period a continuous group of dialects of Indo-European, and that later these branches were violently separated, the former to dominate Europe, the latter to disappear ultimately in the sea of the nations of Asia. This thesis, which naturally is only one of the many reconstructions of the history of Indo-European suggested by the discovery of Tocharian and Hittite, deserves careful consideration.

The close connection of Italian and Celtic is proved specifically in the author's opinion by the possession by both of the passive and deponent in *-r* and the genitive singular of *-o-* stems in *-i*. These characteristics may be found also, it has been suggested by Sommer², in the speech of the Veneti, and the genitive in *-i* is probably to be recognised in the Lepontine inscriptions which may present the speech of a Ligurian tribe. But elsewhere *-i* is very doubtful; in Albanian forms such as *guri* may stand for *guri*, and be originally dative, not genitive. Nor is the significance of the use of *-i* destroyed even by the acceptance of the ingenious suggestion of Wackernagel³ that there is to be found the same *-i* in the Sanskrit, *vāsi-karoti*, an idiom which is clearly closely akin to the Latin *dicionis facere*. This parallelism may be explained in either of two ways; it may be assumed that the original Indo-European genitive of *-o-* stems ended in *-i*, and that by the influence of the pronominal form it came to be altered, so

(1) *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925).

(2) *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLII. 99-132.

(3) *Mélanges Saussure* (1908), pp. 125ff. The idiom is hardly known in the Rgveda, but may be old.

that an original *ekwī passed into *ekwosyo through *tosyo *ekwī. Or it may be held that the -ī form was originally confined to adverbial uses, which are preserved in Indo-Iranian, but was extended widely in Italo-Celtic. Thus it is possible that from a phrase such as *populum regni sui facere*, "to reduce a people under his sway", there might arise a *populus regni mei*, "a people under my sway", whence the genitive force of -ī might spread. Whether either of these views is correct, the fact remains that the general use of -ī in Italo-Celtic serves to prove a distinctive connection between these speeches, comparable with that between Indian and Iranian or the Baltic and the Slav speeches.

That Tocharian is specially related to Italo-Celtic is suggested by the appearance in it of deponents and passives in -r. But it is clearly necessary to adduce much further evidence than this one point of similarity, and the question is whether it is possible to attach much weight to the proofs so far adduced.

1. We find in Tocharian the roots *šam-*, "be seated", *lyam-*, "lie down", and *stam-*, "stand". The last mentioned is clearly an enlarged form of the common root *sta-* which is actually found in Tocharian. There is also found beside the form *šam-* the unenlarged form. Probably too we have both unenlarged and enlarged forms of the I. E. root denoting "to live" seen in Greek *zēn*, and Old Slav *zī-ti*, for we find *šayemo*, "we live", on the one hand, and *šam-tsi*, "to live" on the other. The latter form may be compared with the Lithuanian *gem-ū*, Infinitive *gim-ti*, "enter into life". In Latin, it is pointed out, as in Tocharian the alternation was living, a fact which is significant of a close connection. The evidence, however, for this view seems wholly

(1) It is true that -ī is not found in Britannic or Oscan-Umbrian but there is no real doubt of its Italo-Celtic character; cf. Meillet, *Langue latine*, pp. 28ff. Hirt holds -ī to be a suffix denoting appurtenance; *Indogermanische Grammatik*, III. 47.

(2) More probable is connection with I. E. *g^wem-; so Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, IV. 324.

inadequate; it consists of a comparison of **premo**, the Perfect **preſsi**, and the Slav root **per-** seen in Russian **peré-ſi**, "to press". But we have in Sanskrit side by side the roots **gam-** (e.g. **agamat**), and **gā-**, and **dram-** and **drā-**, and there seems no reason whatever to see any special relation between Tocharian and Italic, while it is not even claimed that Celtic shows this phenomenon.

2. It is pointed out that in Celtic the name **Vocorii** is probably to be understood as containing in its first member the word for "two", as in **Tricornii** and **Petrucorii** we have numerals as the first part of the compounds. With this is compared the fact that in Tocharian "two" is represented by **wī** or **we**, whereas save in the compound for "twenty" I. E. uses **dw-** or **duw-**. But this is inconclusive in the extreme. Admittedly the Tocharian form may merely be a development of the normal **dwo-** or **dwi-** of Indo-European, and, apart from this view, the form without **d** may be seen as suggested by Hirt² in Sanskrit **vayám**, Gothic **weis**, and Lithuanian **vedu**, and not impossibly it is to be traced in the **-u** duals, if these stand for **-owe**.

(3) In Tocharian we have a word for "woman" in the forms **kle** or **k^wle**. With this may be compared the Irish **caile**, on the assumption that the original I. E. form may be put down as something like ***k^wĵlos**. But in fact not merely is the resemblance insufficient, but apparently the Tocharian forms point to a feminine in **-yā** or **-yē** in Indo-European, as was to be expected from the sense of **kle**.

(4) Again Tocharian has a remarkable comitative suffix **śśele**, and it has also **śle-** as a prefix with a similar sense. Comparison with the Irish **céle**, "companion" is suggested. The suggestion, however, is clearly implausible, for it fails in any way to explain the double **śś** in the suffix. That the prefix has but one **ś** is much more easily explained by the theory of the dropping of an initial letter than is the presence of a double letter in the suffix.

(1) Greek has **trémō** and **étressa**, **didráskō** and **dramein**.

(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 22.

Moreover it is not at all clear that the suffix was originally *asle*, or not rather *aslele*. In any case, however, it is impossible to ignore the fact that in Mitanni¹ we have the form *Mitrassil*. No doubt there is a long interval in space between Tocharian and Mitanni, and thus the comparison would be invalid if we could prove that the Tocharian comitative was an innovation in Tocharian A of a late date. But unfortunately we cannot establish anything of the kind, and the similarity of form and use strongly supports the view that in this comitative suffix we have a borrowing from some non Indo-European language. In any case the parallel with *osle* is far too remote.

(5) The Tocharian *walo*, *wlo* "king" doubtless has a parallel in the Old Irish *flaith*, "Kingdom", and kindred terms, but admittedly the root exists also elsewhere, and it is impossible to attach weight to the suggestion that *krente*, "good", is really a participle in *-nt-* transferred to the *-o-* declension, and comparable with the Irish *care*, "friend", which has a participle form. The case of the *-n-* suffix form *kektséne*, "body", illustrates well how little exclusive coincidence we find between Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Accepting the view that *-tsen-* goes back to a suffix *-tyen-*, and that we are to compare Irish *cucht*, "external appearance", we are faced by the fact that the Irish word presupposes a quite different suffix *-tu-*, and that it accords exactly with the Norse *hatt-r*, "appearance, manner", where the suffix again is *-tu-*. The *-tyen-* suffix is doubtless, if it is admitted to exist in Tocharian, on the theory that in *kektséne* and in *klantsö* the *-ts-* represents *-ty-*, parallel to the suffix seen in Latin *mentio*, Irish *toimtiu*, "opinion", etc.; but the occurrence of the same suffix in Armenian deprives the fact of importance. A further suggestion of a remarkable correspondence of suffix is based on the form *walame*, "companion", this is held to be from a stem in *-n-*, as also is *ailame*, "learned man". The suffix in these cases, it is suggested, must have begun with a palatal letter to explain

(1) E. Lewy, KZ. XLV. 365.

the **ī** and the **i** respectively, and is probably to be compared with the suffix **-iyamon-** of the Irish **brithem**, "judge". It must, however, be remembered that it would be equally satisfactory to take the first part of the suffix as **-e-** and to compare the Greek **kēdēmōn**, and so on, thus destroying the parallel entirely. Moreover it is significant that of the two words neither has a parallel formation in Italo-Celtic, and only **wašamo** from **was-**, "dwell", has cognates in Celtic alone, not Italic. Contrast the fact that Sanskrit has the root **ī-**, "rule", Gothic **aih**, to set beside **aīšamo**, and also the root **vas-**. What is wanted for purposes of proving close connection is not mere possession of the same roots, but of the roots used in the same formations and these of a rare character, a phenomenon absolutely lacking in the cases adduced. It must be added that it cannot be taken as absolutely certain that in **klautso** or **wašamo** we are really dealing with **-n-** stems.

(6) This point becomes of importance when we consider the suggestion that Tocharian **witsako**, "root", ought to be regarded as having the suffix which is seen in the Latin **plantago**, **fernago** etc. The fact is that the word **witsako** is not declined like a stem in **-n-**, for it gives **witsakai**, and there is no reason whatever to assume that there is a confusion of **-n-** stems and feminines in **-ā-**. It is, therefore, unimportant that Gaulish knew the same suffix as Latin, nor, it may be added, does it seem possible to hold that there is connection with the Greek word for "root". Still less is it acceptable to treat **palsko**, "thought", as an **-ago-** stem. It is worth noting that here again there is no adduction of any Italo-Celtic parallel for the root, which instead is compared with Sanskrit **nibhālayati**, "he observes", and Old High German **bilidi**, "image".

(7) The greatest stress is laid on the identity in Tocharian, and Italo-Celtic of the word for silver, Tocharian **ārkyante** Italian **argentum**, Old Irish **argat**. But after all we must assign to the same root ***areg** the Sanskrit **rajatā** and the Greek **argyros**

as well as the Armenian *arcath*, and the Avestan *ərənata*, and it is impossible to lay any stress on the argument; we may as well look to Avestan and Armenian as to Italo-Celtic for the parallel¹. Similarly nothing can be made out of the possession by Tocharian of a parallel for Latin *aurum*, which is not shared by Celtic, for Lithuanian and Old Prussian have *auksas* and *ausis*. What is clear is that Tocharian shows constantly points of contact with one or another Indo-European speech, but without any clearly marked affinity to one special group. Thus, if we accept Pedersen's own views, we have an amazing parallel to Greek *ethélō* in *yśelme* "desire", the *y* corresponding on this theory with the Greek *e*², and again in *aitsi* "to give", we have a parallel of the Greek *aísa*,³ which has an Oscan cognate in *aiteis*, genitive, meaning "part", the semantic development being comparable to that between the Greek *époron*, "I gave" and *hepeprómēne*, "fate". There are many other parallels which have been adduced by other writers to support Italo-Celtic affinities for Tocharian; but it is needless to go into them, for they are neither more nor less cogent than the instances already discussed. Quite as remarkable as anything else is the fact that in Tocharian *soye* we have a parallel to the distinctive Greek word for son, and there are other points in which we can find a remarkable similarity between Tocharian and Greek. So again it has been suggested by Hermann⁴ that there is a certain affinity between Tocharian and Phrygian which he regards as a *centum* speech. It is not necessary to accept the latter suggestion, which runs counter to the view, based on the testimony of Herodotus and Eudoxos, which holds that the Armenians were an offshoot of the Phrygians. Armenian is unquestionably a *satem* speech, and

(1) Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I. 82.

(2) For this prefix see Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, II. 166.

(3) Cf. Hirt, *op. cit.* II. 182.

(4) KZ. L. 302ff.

though there is a lack of absolutely conclusive evidence, there is a good deal to suggest that Phrygian was really a *satem* speech. Pokorny¹ again has suggested that there is much in Tocharian akin to Armenian, and the evidence for his thesis is quite as good as that for affinity with Italo-Celtic. The truth is that in no case have we such a number of striking identities in formation and vocabulary that it is possible to postulate any close affinity.

There remains, therefore, as the ground for asserting a special connection of Italo-Celtic, Tocharian and Phrygian nothing more substantial than the middle and passive forms in *-r*. Armenian forms in *-r* might also be adduced to extend the number of connected speeches, but Pedersen, despite Meillet's arguments, does not himself believe that the Armenian forms *bera-r*, "you have been carried", and *bere-r*, "he carried", or "he was carried" have anything historically to do with the *-r* forms of the other languages. The matter is further complicated by the evidence of Hittite². That strange speech seems to add *-er* or *-ir* to form preterite third plurals; thus *kuenzi*, "he kills", *kuenta*, "he killed", and *kuennir*, "they killed", *dai*, "he takes", *daš*, "he took", and *dair*, "they took". On the other hand *-ri* is added to terminations of medio-passive forms, without alteration of the meaning and only facultatively, so far as can be judged; thus we have the third persons present *kiš-a* or *kiš-ari*, *iya-tta* or *iya-ttari*; third plural *iya-nta* or *iya-ntari*. In the Imperative we have corresponding forms in *-ru*, *kiš-aru*, *iya-ttaru*, and *iya-ntaru*. Hittite thus provides parallels for the Latin forms; *-tari* being akin to *-tur*, *-ntari* to *-ntur*, while the *-ari* forms remind us of Old Irish *berir*, "he is carried", and Oscan *sacrafir*, "let one sacrifice" (if this is the meaning; the verb may really be passive). The Phrygian evidence is confined to *addaketor*, which stands beside the simple *addaket*, corresponding to Latin *afficit*.

(1) *Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient in Wien*, III.

(2) E. H. Sturtevant, *Language*, IV. 165 ff.

Pedersen's view is that the *-r* forms are an innovation which never belonged to more than a part of the Indo-European family, in which he inclines definitely to include Hittite. But, even if Hittite is not to be treated as Indo-European in the usual sense, but to be held to be a sister speech of Indo-European,¹ he holds that in the period before the separation of the two families of speeches, Indo-European and Hittite, there must have sprung up in the area separate dialects, one of which possessed the *-r* conjugation. The alternative, of course, is to hold that the *-r* formations have Indo-European status.

The evidence of Sanskrit on the whole favours the view that Indo-European knew *-r* formations, but that the several branches of the family have gone their own way in developing their use. The same remark applies to Hittite, whether it is regarded as a member of the family or a mere cousin speech. The use of the forms as given above is clearly specialised, and the same remark appears to apply to Sanskrit. We have the common *-ur* as the termination of the third plural Perfect, e.g. *vidu'r*; the Optative *syu'r*, the Aorist *śdur*; it is added to the second dual and third Perfect as in *bubudhāthur*, *bubudhātur*, or again *-r* is followed by other endings as in the regular Perfect Middle *bubudhiré* and even *bubhujiré*; in the third plural Aorist Middle we have *-ran* or *-ram*,² as in *śdīśran* or *śdīśram*, *śbudhram*, or *śbudhram*, while more sporadically we have forms such as *duhré*, *duhrāte*, *duhrām*, *duhratām*, and *aduhra*. It will be seen that both Active and Middle forms are found, but, save in so far as outside the Present system Middle forms afford the Passive in Sanskrit, there is no special connection between *-r* forms and the Passive. When we remember the existence of Latin *stetere*, Tocharian *stāre* and the Hittite forms, it seems legitimate to suppose that, whatever the source of the *-r* formations, there was nothing essentially Passive connected with them at the earliest stage.

(1) Ibid. II. 25-34; IV. 169f. cf. Kretschmer, *Glossa*, XIV. 300-19.

Zimmer¹, as is well known, traced the origin of deponents and passives alike to the Indo-European use of a third plural Active in -r; thus a hypothetical *widr, "they see", passes over to "one sees", and thence to the impersonal Passive "it is seen". This is supported to some extent by such cases as the Umbrian *pone esonom-e ferar*, "when there is carrying to the sacrifice;" Latin *vitam vivitur*; Old Irish *doberr* or *doberar*, "they give," "one gives"; Breton *gweler*, "they see", "one sees". On the other hand it is pointed out that Tocharian does not show signs of an impersonal use of -r forms², and that the same is true of Hittite, so far as we at present know it. Stress instead has been laid on the view that the Passive is a natural development from the Middle which, unlike the Passive on one view, is Indo-European, and it has been suggested that -r formations are naturally connected with deponents³. In that case Indo-Iranian in its use of -r formations has often employed them in an Active sense, as has also Latin in the *fecere* type, and it may be doubted whether the connection can be sustained for Indo-European. Again the impersonal use in the third singular is deemed by Ernout⁴ among others to be the original; he points out that it is common to Italian and Celtic. The deponents of Italic and Celtic seem to have taken over this -r. It is true that Walde held that it was in Gaelo-Latin as a unity that the deponent developed⁵, to the exclusion of Britannic on the one hand, and Oscan-Umbrian on the other; but though the evidence of Britannic deponents is not strong, it is improbable that they were unknown, and Umbrian

(1) KZ. XXX. (1887), 224-89; cf. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 523.

(2) Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIV. 113.

(3) Cf. Clafin, *Language*, V. 232 ff.; *Am. Journ. Phil.* XLVIII. 157 ff.

(4) *Morphologie historique du latin* (1927), pp. 181, 195 ff.

(5) *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (1917). Contrast Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XLII. 387 ff.

is credited with *herter*, "he desires" and Oscan with *harrnter*, possibly, "they feed themselves". Nor generally is it possible to accept Walde's ingenious suggestion.

It is clearly impossible to arrive at any certain results as to the mode in which the *-r* suffixes developed, but the important point for the purpose of dialect grouping is that Tocharian shows nothing of the impersonal use of *-r* which is clearly Italo-Celtic, and thus cannot on that ground be grouped closely with Italo-Celtic. Phrygian and Hittite are in like case with Tocharian in not showing evidence of this impersonal use, which we may, therefore, regard as specifically Italo-Celtic, either in the sense that it developed in Italo-Celtic or that it was preserved in Italo-Celtic from Indo-European, while it died out in other Indo-European dialects. The theory, therefore, that Italo-Celtic, Phrygian and Tocharian once formed a continuous series of dialects marked by the innovation of the *-r* conjugation cannot be held to be plausibly proved by the grounds so far adduced. There is, of course, no objection *a priori* to any theory of dialectic grouping, but the question is of the extent to which such a group can be established as more probable than another. That Hittite and Tocharian have certain remarkable similarities is perfectly true, but the same remark applies equally to Hittite and most of the other dialects, and we certainly cannot prove the continuity of Hittite and Tocharian from the material available. Indeed, in view of the great difference in date between our records of the two speeches, it would be extremely difficult to expect to find sufficient proof of early contiguity.

As regards the *-r* suffix it may be added that it is unreasonable to treat as impossible¹ the suggestion that it originally was the characteristic of the impersonal verb, as taken by Morris Jones² among others. The idea that such an impersonal could

(1) Claffin, *Language*, V. 233, 241.

(2) *Welsh Grammar* (1913).

pass over to the service of the third person plural as in Sanskrit -ur and -re or -ire is certainly not more difficult than Zimmer's view that the third plural Active in -ur could pass over to a Passive sense. It may really be the case that the Indo-European possessed this impersonal in -r, and that the variant uses developed separately in each of the dialects or groups Indo-Iranian, and Italo-Celtic. The Hittite evidence, so far as it goes, shows the most regular uses of -er or -ir as the suffix of a preterite, just as in Sanskrit the third plural perfect Active and Middle is the special form of which -r forms a part. That an impersonal verb expression should be used to denote past time is certainly not surprising.

The origin of -r has often been seen in a locative suffix¹ used predicatively as in the case of the suffix -i seen in the Infinitive, e.g. Latin *agere* or Sanskrit *dr̥si*. We have -r in such a use often in Germanic, e.g. Gothic *her*, but also in other languages, as in Latin *quor*, and apparently in Greek *gár*, and in -per, Latin *paulisper*. Hirt,² on the other hand believes that we have in -r a particle of the type seen in that use in Greek *ar*, *ra*, and he compares Greek *ē ra* "he spoke" with Sanskrit *āh-ur*, "they say", *stē ra* with *asthur*, and so on. It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in the absence of decisive arguments, but either hypothesis is at present preferable to any attempt to revive the once prevalent idea, still maintained by Pedersen³, that in the -r we should find a trace of the reflexive *se*, a view which is untenable in the absence of any proof that outside Latin *s* became *r*. An alternative suggestion, that *r* at an early period itself had a sense similar to *se*, is not specially attractive; we have no satisfactory proof that the force of -r was primarily reflexive, which is certain-

(1) Cf. Johansson, Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, XIV 163; XVI 133 ff.

(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 137; IV. 134.

(3) Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, II 296.

ly not borne out by Sanskrit or Hittite. It is noteworthy that Pedersen himself in his later discussion of the grouping of the dialects does not pronounce definitely in favour of any theory. He refers to the suggestions in Ode's work,¹ but insists that it is to Celtic that we must look if at all for the possibility of tracing the development of the use of *r*, in view of the linguistic particularism which has, on the one hand, produced so many bizarre forms in the later development of the language, but on the other has preserved many irregularities removed in other speeches. It is, however, difficult in view of the late date at which Celtic is recorded to distinguish between what is novel, and what is old material preserved. Thus there is a complete divergence of view between those who, like Pedersen, claim that the Celtic passive is ancient by reason of peculiarities of form and syntax, and those who contend that it is a secondary development and that originally deponent and Passive coincided as in Latin. Nor is it possible to accept as cogent Pedersen's view that there was no Passive in Indo-European, a doctrine which influences his view that *r* Passives were a dialectical innovation.

(1) De uitgangen met *r* van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen (1924).

SYANDANIKĀ.

By Sylvain Lévi.

Le Karmavibhāga sūtra est un texte encore inédit dont j'ai trouvé au Népal, en 1922, deux manuscrits, entièrement indépendants l'un de l'autre, coupés l'un et l'autre de lacunes qui fort heureusement ne coïncident presque jamais. C'est un ouvrage qui a dû connaître une popularité extraordinaire puisque je l'ai retrouvé en tibétain, en chinois, en koutchéen, et qu'il a servi de texte aux illustrations de la galerie inférieure au Boro-Budur de Java. Ecrit dans un sanscrit fort classique, il foisonne de citations curieuses. Je compte en donner au cours des années prochaines une édition et une traduction complètes avec les textes parallèles. Pour le moment, je me contente de signaler un mot qui peut être intéressant pour le linguiste, et spécialement pour ceux qui, comme l'illustre auteur du Bihar Peasant Life, ne séparent pas l'étude des mots de l'étude des choses.

Le Karmavibhāga s'ouvre par l'histoire de Śuka Māṇava, fils de Taudeyya. Le Bouddha en tournée de quête à Śrāvastī se présente au seuil de la maison, en l'absence du Maître. Le chien favori de Śuka aboie méchamment. Le Bouddha qui a reconnu dans l'animal le père même de Śuka, à qui son avarice a valu cette fâcheuse renaissance, lui rappelle son passé par une allusion que seul le chien peut comprendre. Le chien, humilié, saute de la couchette matelassée où il se prélassait, et va se tapir dans la **syandanikā** de bois (evam ukte śāṅkhakuñjare 'tisayitaroṣaś caṇḍibhūto 'nāttamanā goṇikāstrāt paryaṅkāḍ avatīr-yādhastāt paryaṅkasya dārusyandanikāyāṃ niṣaṇṇaḥ).

Le mot **syandanikā** paraît avoir embarrassé les interprètes. Un texte chinois traduit par Guṇabhadra dit "Il descendit du matelas de son lit et alla en bas du seuil de la porte" (S 門 闕 下) Un autre texte chinois, traduit par

T'ien Si tsai dit : “ Il quitta la place où il était et s'en alla sous un siège de santal 旃檀座下 ce qui suppose une lecture *candanikāyām*. La traduction du Śukasūtra dans le Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 16, a : “ Il descendit de sa litière et s'en alla près du tas de bois ” 木聚. Pourtant le mot **syandanikā** est connu par ailleurs : Le Pet. Wört. l'enregistre avec une référence au Rāmāyaṇa III, 53, 56 de l'éd. Gorresio—47, 45 de l'éd. Bombay. Sitā menace son ravisseur de la vengeance que Rāma saura tirer et compare dédaigneusement Rāvaṇa avec son époux : “ Il y a entre toi et lui autant de différence qu'entre un ruisseau et l'Océan ” (**yad antaraṃ syandanikāsamudrayoḥ**). **Syandanikā** doit donc désigner un tout petit cours d'eau. La trad. donnée par T'ien Si tsai “ un siège de santal ” atteste que certains Mss. avaient substitué à ce mot la forme **candanikā** que l'interprète n'a pas su comment traduire. Mais ce mot **candanikā**, ignoré en sanscrit, est bien connu en pali. Le Dict. pali de la P.T.S. le rend par : “ a pool at the entrance of the village (usually, but not necessarily, dirty) ” et donne une longue série de références qui sont insuffisantes pour préciser le sens. Le mot est en général accolé à un autre mot, **oḷigalla**, qui est également obscur. Pourtant un passage du Visuddhimagga, p. 343 est nettement en contradiction avec la trad. du Dict. pali ; le texte énumère toutes les saletés et les ordures qui encombrent la porte de la maison : **taṃ taṃ gehadvāraṃ patvā macchadhovana-mamsadhovana-taṇḍuladhovana-khaḷasiṃghānika-sunakha-sūkaravaccādīhi sammissāni kimikulāni nīlammakkikaparikiṇṇāni oḷigallāni ceva candanikaṭṭhānāni ca daṭṭhabbāni honti** : “ En arrivant à la porte d'une maison ou d'une autre, la vue tombe fatalement sur les **oḷigalla** et les emplacements de **candanikā** où les vers et les mouches se mêlent aux eaux de lavage du poisson, de la viande, du riz, avec les crachats et les morves, avec les crottes des chiens, des porcs etc.

On peut serrer davantage le sens. Et cependant, par une étrange fatalité, la plupart des textes palis donnés en référence n'ont pas de correspondants connus en chinois, et dans le cas bien rare où le texte correspondant existe en chinois, les interprètes embarrassés semblent avoir laissé de côté le mot. Dans le sūtra du Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 46a col. 16 qui correspond au Laṭukikopama sutta du Majjhima Nikāya I, 448, et où reparait une énumération analogue (à celle du Visuddhimagga ci-dessus, il semble bien que les caractères **keou tou** 溝 瀆 correspondent à **can-danikā**; **keou** 溝; signifie "fosse, rigole"; la Mhvy. 瀆 et 劬 l'emploie pour traduire **parikhā** "fossé, d'enceinte"; **tou** désigne un canal destiné à l'arrosage des champs. Dans le sūtra du Saṃyukta Āgama XIII, 3, 76a qui répond au Brāhmaṇa-sutta de Saṃyutta V, 361, au cours d'une énumération assez analogue ("Va droit devant toi; n'évite ni humeurs, ni précipice, ni troncs d'arbre, ni épines, ni **candanikā**, ni **oḷigalla**") le chinois a **kien** 澗 en regard de **candanikā**; **kien** désigne un cours d'eau resserré, un ruisseau. Dans le Vacchagottasutta de l'Āṅguttara I, 161, **candanikā** et **oḷigalla** sont les endroits où on déverse les eaux de vaisselle et où grouille la vermine; le sūtra correspondant se trouve dans deux versions du Saṃyukta Tok. XIII, 2, 21a et 5, 84b, mais les deux traducteurs se contentent de dire; "là où l'on jette les eaux de lavage de la vaisselle et les résidus de nourriture".

Il ressort de tous ces exemples que **candanikā** est exactement ce que nous appelons "le ruisseau", la rigole plus ou moins profonde par où s'écoulent les eaux ménagères au devant de la maison. Le mot est donc une simple déformation du sanscrit **syandanikā**, déformation voulue, consciente, d'intention ironique: les puanteurs du ruisseau évoquaient par antiphrase le parfum du santal.

Quant à l'expression composée **dāru-syandanikā** "le ruisseau (la rigole) en bois", on en a le parallèle dans le Vinaya

pali, Cullavagga V, 17 où sont réunies les prescriptions relatives au bain des moines : “ Les Mendiants se baignaient partout dans le jardin et le jardin était tout fangeux. On en fit rapport au Très Saint. “ Je vous permets, Mendiants, la **candanikā** ”, dit-il. La **candanikā** était à ciel ouvert ; les Mendiants étaient gênés pour se baigner. “ Je vous permets, Mendiants, dit-il, trois sortes de murs à l’entour : mur en briques, mur en pierre, mur en bois (**dāru**) ”. Suit une prescription relative au pavage du fond (**santhāra**), qui peut être fait également en briques, en pierre ou en bois. La **syandanikā** (pali **candanikā**) était donc 1° la rigole d’évacuation des eaux ménagères qui partait de la cuisine pour rejoindre le ruisseau, 2° le ruisseau lui-même, c’est à dire la tranchée creusée dans la rue au long des maisons. La rigole domestique pouvait être tout entière en bois, creusée dans du bois plein ou formée de lattes assemblées, ou être revêtue de boisage pour empêcher les terres d’être entraînées par l’eau ; le Japon contemporain montre encore partout, dans les grandes cités comme dans les villages, ces tranchées boisées, tantôt à ciel ouvert, tantôt couvertes avec des dalles de pierre. Leur existence dans l’Inde ancienne est attestée par la Śukraniti I, 352 :

Kuryān mārgān pārśvakhātān nirgamārtham jalasya ca “ Il faut faire, pour l’écoulement des eaux, des conduites creusées sur les côtés (de la rue) ”. M. Binode Behari Dutt, à qui j’emprunte cette citation, rapporte en outre dans son livre vraiment remarquable ; *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1925—un des meilleurs travaux publiés au cours de ces dernières années—un passage d’un livre récent que je n’ai pu consulter directement, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, par M. Venkataram Ayyar, passage qui semble écrit à dessein pour éclairer la question de la **syandanikā-candanikā** : “ As in other cities, so also in Vanji the ditch encircled the walls of the city. The water from the palace, public halls, and private residences fell into this ditch by means of a conduit

sluice known as Tumbu. The conduit-pipe discharged the water of the city into the ditch near the entrance gate where it was covered over with a stone culvert. By such a drainage system, the water used in private homes for domestic and bathing purposes, was conducted by pipes into the main conduit which poured its contents into the ditch. Those who could afford the expense had separate baths specially constructed for them in such a manner that water might be filled in or let out of such baths at their pleasure. When they had finished bathing they opened the outlet of the baths which emptied water into the drain which led to the ditch outside."

Observons encore que dans le récit correspondant en pali, Sumangala Vilāsini, éd. siamoise I, 437 (récit très étroitement apparenté à notre texte) le chien mécontent va se coucher dans les cendres à l'intérieur du fourneau (**uddha-nantare chārikāya nipanno**); ici encore l'obscurité du terme **candanikā** paraît avoir décidé le narrateur à lui substituer un autre mot et une autre chose, plus facilement intelligibles.

J'ai fait usage, chemin faisant, des récits parallèles que j'ai rencontrés en pali. Notre Karmavibhāga sūtra est le développement du sutta pali intitulé Cūḷa Kammavibhaṅga qui forme le 135e sutta du Majjhimanikāya. Le personnage à qui ce sutta sur la classification des actes est adressé y est appelé Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta; le commentaire sur ce texte, dans la Pāṇāśāsudani (éd. Siam. III, 648) raconte en guise d'introduction l'histoire du Bouddha et du chien qui est rené le père de Suka. L'identité est donc incontestable. Le même Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta reparaît dans un certain nombre d'autres textes que nous laisserons ici de côté. En face du pali Subha, la forme sanskrite Śuka est attestée non seulement par le Karmavibhāga, mais aussi par les textes chinois correspondants ou apparentés qui rendent ce nom soit par une transcription: Chou kia, soit par une traduction "Perroquet". Le tibétain, contrairement à sa

pratique générale, ne traduit pas le nom et se contente de le transcrire. Nous avons donc d'une part Śuka, de l'autre Subha (sk. Śubha). On ne peut passer directement d'une de ces formes à l'autre; ni Śuka n'a pu aboutir à Subha ni Subha à Śuka. Il devient donc nécessaire de supposer à la base une forme antérieure d'où auraient pu diverger deux restaurations différentes. Le mot **Suka** est dans les pracrits, et notamment dans le pracrit jaina où il se rencontre fréquemment comme nom de personne, **Sua** susceptible de se développer en **Suva** (=śruta, suta, etc.). De l'alternance **bh** pali en face de **v** par ailleurs, nous avons tout au moins un exemple dans un des termes les plus importants de la théorie du saint bouddhique; le pali a **paṭisambhidā** tandis que le sanscrit a **pratisamvid**. Nous sommes ainsi ramenés par un nouvel exemple à la théorie que j'ai eu l'occasion de présenter, il y a déjà longtemps, sur l'emploi dans le bouddhisme ancien, antérieurement au pali et au sanscrit, d'un dialecte disparu, cousin germain de l'ardhamagadhi jaina, et qui avait atteint déjà un stage avancé d'usure phonétique (Cf. Journ. Asiat., 1912, II, 495-514).

Le mot **syandanikā** avait déjà attiré l'attention du Rev. Richard Morris, dans la série des Notes and Queries où se rencontrent tant d'indications importantes. A propos du mot **ekodibhāva** (Jour. Pali Text Soc., 1885, p. 35), dont il propose d'ailleurs une interprétation fautive, il est amené à citer le mot **oligalla**, et **oligalla** attire **candanikā** dont il est presque inséparable. Il signale l'usage, du mot **syandanikā** dans un passage du Saddharma Puṇḍarīka (Chap. VI, éd. Kern-Nanjio, p. 144, l. 10) que d'ailleurs il connaît seulement par la traduction de Kern (Sac. Books, Vol. XXI), et il écrit: "A very good instance of this sanskritizing process [la marotte des Palisants de cette époque!] in the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka (pp. 142, 146, 395) which has escaped the keen eye of Prof. Kern, is seen in **syandanika** [corr. **kā**, que donne bien le texte sanscrit imprimé]-**gūthodilla** (var. lect. -oḍigilla, -oḍigalla) translated by 'gutters and dirty

pools'. Prof. Kern acknowledges that his rendering of **gūthodilla** is conjectural. Here we may call in Pali to throw some light upon the whole compound **syandanika**°. Not seldom we find the Pali terms **candanikā** and **oligalla** occurring together (see *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, III, VI. 8; *Milinda Panha*, p. 220; *Sabbāsava Sutta*) the former meaning, according to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 'a dirty pool at the entrance of a village'. The Pali **candanikā** is probably to be referred to a more original **caṇḍanikā**, from the root **caṇḍ**, and signifies a turbid pool, or one liable to become so on account of not being inclosed (see *Thera Gāthā*, I. 567; *Cullavagga*, V. 17, 1). *Buddhaghosa* defines it as **asucikala-lakūpo**. The Sanskrit **syandanikā**, according to the lexicographers, does not mean a tank, well, or pool, but 'a drop of saliva', and the meaning 'gutter' given to it by Prof. Kern, is deduced by him from the root **syand** (**syandana**, oozing water). It is one of those words that may be restored to its primitive form since it is in fact a clever sanskritizing of Pali **candanikā**."

Morris discute ensuite le terme **gūthodilla** associé à **syandanikā** dans le texte du *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*. **Uḍilla** serait une sanscritisation (une de plus) faite sur le pali **oligalla**, qui pourrait être une altération de **allagalla**, "from **alla** wet" (**ulla**, **olla** well-known Prakrit forms, Sanskrit **ārdra**) "swampy, marshy" and **galla**, Sanskrit **garta**, Prakrit **gaḍḍa** "well, pit". Et il ajoute sagement : "But all this is by way of conjecture".

Pour ajouter une conjecture de plus, je signale que, d'après un informateur hindou venu de Madras (M. Venkata-chalpati), le télougou a **ōḍagalavādu** pour désigner "le nettoyeur, le boueux" (où **vādu** est un simple suffixe d'emploi analogue à **wāla** de l'hindoustani). Le tamoul possède aussi le mot **ōḍugāl** pour désigner une "conduite d'eau", comme me l'indique mon collègue M. Bloch.

Enfin la substitution de **chārikā** "les cendres" "dans le récit pali à **syandanikā** de la rédaction sanscrite peut

remonter à une confusion entre **kṣāra** "caustique" et **kṣara** "coulant".

Burnouf qui n'avait pas rencontré le mot dans le premier des Mss. sur lequel il traduisait et où ce mot est omis, n'a rien naturellement qui puisse y correspondre dans sa traduction ; mais dans ses notes sur le chapitre VI (p. 385), il observe que les deux Mss. de Hodgson, qu'il a pu consulter depuis, lisent **syandanikā** devant **gūthodillam** ce qui ajoute (dit-il) à la précision de l'idée, car **syandanikā** peut répondre au sanscrit **syandinī** et signifier "salive".

Aucune des trois traductions chinoises du Saddharma Puṇḍarīka n'apporte d'éclaircissement sur ce passage ; elles se contentent toutes trois d'écrire : "sans ordures".

M. Grierson, à qui cette note a été communiquée en manuscrit, me signale que **syandanikā** survit encore en hindi comme mot tatsama, et qu'il est enregistré dans le Dictionnaire de le Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, le Hindī Sabda Sāgara, pp. 37-36, avec le sens de "salive", "petit ruisseau", et "conduite d'eau, rigole (nahar)".

REMARQUES SUR LES VERBES DE MOUVEMENT EN INDO-EUROPÉEN

By J. Vendryes

Dans un article des *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (t. XXIII, p. 264 et ss.), M. Meillet a attiré l'attention des linguistes sur la distinction du déterminé et de l'indéterminé dans les verbes de mouvement en grec. Un examen sommaire permet de reconnaître la même distinction en celtique (cf. *Rev. Celtique*, t. XLVI, p. 215 et ss.). Il s'agit d'un fait général, qui devait en indo-européen tenir une place importante et dont il est possible de marquer des maintenant certains caractères.

Un verbe indo-européen pouvait être employé avec ou sans régime, c'est à dire que le procès pouvait être considéré comme portant ou non sur un objet. En latin, *amo* signifie "j'aime", *amo patrem* "j'aime mon père". Dans un cas, le procès est considéré en lui-même, avec toutes les modalités qu'il comporte; dans l'autre, il s'étend à un objet qui peut même devenir l'élément prépondérant, en exprimant la raison d'être du procès. Considéré en lui-même à l'exclusion de tout objet, le procès, confiné dans l'activité du sujet, prend aisément une valeur neutre ou même réfléchie: *φέρω τι* veut dire en grec "je porte quelque chose", comme en latin *uerto id* "je tourne cela"; mais *φέρω* et *uerto*, tout court, veulent dire "je me porte" ou "je me tourne".

Cette distinction vaut pour la plupart des notions verbales. Elle est toujours possible en indo-européen, grâce à l'autonomie des mots, qui résulte des conditions mêmes de la morphologie (cf. Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité*, p. 519). Mais pour certaines notions la distinction est tellement importante qu'elle se traduit dans le vocabulaire par l'emploi de mots différents. Elle n'est pas seulement syntaxique, mais aussi lexicographique: à côté d'un verbe ayant la valeur déterminée, il existe alors un verbe tout différent qui est indéterminé. Ainsi en français pour la notion de "parler". Le verbe *dire* est déterminé: il ne se conçoit pas aujourd'hui sans l'addition d'un régime indiquant ce que "dit" le sujet. Au contraire le verbe *parler*, qui est indéterminé, ne

comporte d'autre régime que ceux qui portent sur les modalités variées de la parole. Le fait est ancien. En latin le verbe **dicere** est déterminé, comme le grec **δῆκναι** et le gotique **teihan**; cela explique le sens particulier qu'ont pris ces verbes en grec et en germanique, celui de "dénoncer, accuser".

Les verbes déterminés sont relativement stables: le verbe latin **dicere** survit encore aujourd'hui dans toutes les langues romanes. Au contraire les verbes indéterminés sont éminemment instables; ils s'usent vite et se renouvellent fréquemment. Les diverses langues indo-européennes présentent pour l'idée de "parler" les verbes les plus variés, souvent d'origine inconnue; à ce point de vue même, les langues romanes ne s'accordent pas, et en français populaire on remplace aujourd'hui le verbe **parler** par un bon nombre de synonymes (**causer, bavarder, jaspiner, etc.**). C'est que le verbe indéterminé comporte des nuances affectives dont le déterminé est dépourvu. Par l'emploi du déterminé, le procès se présente sous sa forme brute, dépouillé de circonstances accessoires. En employant l'indéterminé, le sujet parlant s'exprime lui-même, manifeste l'action de sa personnalité sur le procès que marque le verbe. Ainsi s'ajoutent à l'idée du procès des modalités variées qui entraînent un renouvellement fréquent de l'expression.

Un procédé dont usait l'indo-européen pour renouveler l'expression d'une notion - en dehors de l'emploi d'une racine différente - était l'élargissement de la racine. L'addition d'un élément phonétique à une racine donnée permettait de souligner certains caractères particuliers de la notion verbale. Peu importe l'origine de cet élément phonétique; il est permis de penser qu'il n'était parfois qu'un débris morphologique de dérivation ou de composition. Il ajoutait en tout cas à la racine une nuance de sens souvent compatible avec l'emploi indéterminé. Ainsi dans le cas de la racine marquant le "tremblement" d'où l'"effroi": ***tre-m-**, ***tre-p-** à côté de ***ter-** (skr. **tarala-**). On peut dire que la présence d'un élargissement est un indice que la racine était employée avec une valeur indéterminée.

Un autre indice de même ordre est dans 'existence d' une formation de causatif. Lorsqu'on impose un acte à quelqu'un, l'essentiel n'est pas que cet acte porte sur tel ou tel objet, mais bien que l'acte lui-même se produise. C'est bien pour que quelqu'un dise quelque chose qu'on le fait parler; mais l'important est qu'il parle, c'est à dire qu'on le décide à parler. Un aphrodisiaque fait aimer, comme l'opium fait dormir; la personnalité de l'être qu'on aime est secondaire.

Les observations qui précèdent éclairent l'histoire et la formation de certains verbes de mouvement. C'est dans les verbes de mouvement qu'apparaît le plus nettement l'opposition du déterminé et de l'indéterminé, suivant qu'on considère le mouvement comme comportant un certain objet ou un certain but qu'il lui serve de terme (*agit boues, peto urbem*); soit qu'on se borne à la considération du mouvement en lui-même avec ses diverses modalités (*bene ou male agit, ambulat in horto*).

La présence d'un élargissement implique indétermination: à côté de la racine *ei- (cf. skr. v.d. *sabhám eti*, lat. *eo Romam*), il existe une racine *eit-, qui est nettement indéterminée (cf. Bull. Soc. Lingu., XXV, p. 45), comme suffiraient à le prouver en latin *iter*, en osque *eituns*, en grec *ἰταρός* "hardi, impudent" et peut-être en germanique et en celtique le nom du "serment", got. *aíþs*, irl. *oeth*.

Lorsqu'une racine de verbe de mouvement comprend un élargissement et sert en plus à former un causatif, on est doublement assuré que la valeur de ce verbe était indéterminée. C'est le cas des racines *leudh-, *leit-, *sent-.

La racine *leudh- sort d'une racine *leu-, attestée en grec dans *ἐλαύνειν* et dans *προς-ήλυτος*; un autre élargissement apparaît d'ailleurs dans la racine *leugh- des formes sanscrites *arūhat, arukṣat, rokṣyati, rūdhaḥ* "grandi, accru" et dans la racine *leup- du skr. *ropáyati* "il fait grandir, il soulève". C'est de *leudh- que sortent à la fois les formes gr. *ἐλαύνομαι, ἐλαύνω*.

got. *lidan*, skr. *rodhati*; la formation nominale *ῥοδῆρος* en montre bien le caractère indéterminé. Et l'on a le causatif correspondant dans l'irlandais *luadim* "je mets en mouvement, je lance", particulièrement employé au figuré *luadim molad* "je développe, je fais grandir la louange".

Dans les racines **leit-* et **sent-* l'élargissement est moins apparent, mais elles ont toutes deux fourni des causatifs: le germanique a v. h. a. *leiten* v. isl. *leida* en face de got. *leiþan* v. h. a. *lidan*, comme got. *sandjan* en face de *sinþan*. Le sens figuré de v. h. a. *lidan* "éprouver, souffrir" s'explique par la valeur indéterminée du verbe. On observe aussi un sens figuré dans le dérivé latin de la racine **sent-*, à savoir *sentiō*.

Deux autres racines marquant un mouvement se présentent avec des élargissements qui en précisent la valeur: c'est d'une part **ser-*, d'autre part **drā-*. La première, bien attestée par le sanskrit *sisarti* et *sarati* a fourni sous la forme **serp-* le sanskrit *sarpati* "il rampe" (lat. *serpo*) mais aussi le grec *ἔρπω* qui signifie seulement "je vais". La spécialisation au sens de "ramper" s'accorde bien avec la présence d'un élargissement. Sous la forme **serg-* la même racine a donné au sanskrit le verbe *sarjati*, *srjati*. La seconde, attestée dans le grec *ἔδραυ* et le sanskrit *drāti* est pourvue d'élargissements variés dans skr. *dramati*, gr. *ἔδρομος* ou dans le skr. *drāvati*. Un autre élargissement apparaît dans le causatif sanskrit *drāpayati*, qui suppose une racine de forme **drāp-*, dont l'antiquité est attestée par le grec *ἔπατρις* "déserteur". Ce fait pourrait suggérer une explication du suffixe de causatif sanskrit *-payati*, dont l'origine est énigmatique (cf. Sutterlin, I. F. XIX, 536; Thumb Handb. d. altind., I, 403; Brugmann, Grdr., 2^e éd., II, 3, p. 256; et P. Persson Beitr. z. idg. Wortfshg., II, 592). On sait que le suffixe de causatif se présente régulièrement sous la forme *-payati* dans les racines qui se terminent par une voyelle: *dādhati* "il pose", *dhāpayati* "il fait poser"; *snāti* "il se baigne", *snāpayati* "il fait baigner, il plonge quelqu'un dans l'eau" etc., et dans un

verbe de mouvement, **yāti** "il va" (déterminé; cf. **yād ājīm yāti** "quand il va au combat", R. V. VIII, 45, 7), **yāpáyati** "il fait aller".

Il est évident que le **p** joue ici un rôle de phonème de liaison permettant l'addition d'un suffixe commençant par une voyelle à une racine elle-même de terminaison vocalique. C'est un procédé répandu dans la morphologie de bien des langues; la formation du parfait grec en **-xa** présente un cas analogue. Il est permis de penser que ce **p** est un ancien élargissement, qui aurait été originellement à sa place dans les verbes de mouvement pour le motif qui vient d'être indiqué.

On a peut-être une confirmation de cette hypothèse dans le fait suivant. En plus des racines terminées par une voyelle, le suffixe **-payati** apparaît au causatif dans la racine **ar-** de **īyarti**, **arpáyati** "il met en mouvement". Or, le **p** de **arpáyati** peut passer pour un élargissement, car la racine en présente un autre. À côté de **ṛṇóti** gr. *ῥῆνυμι* on a en effet **rghāyati** "il s'élance, il s'agite" (intensif et noncausatif). Ce serait des causatifs de verbes de mouvement comme **arpáyati**, **drāpáyati**, **yāpáyati**, qu'aurait été tiré le suffixe **-payati** commodément utilisé ensuite dans les racines à terminaison vocalique.

LE PRÉSENT DU VERBE "ÊTRE" EN TSIGANE

By Jules Bloch

Le conjugaison normale du présent des verbes tsiganes est claire dans l'ensemble. En voici le paradigme (d'après Sampson, *Dial. of the Gypsies of Wales*. §385 sq.; Macalister, *Language of the Nawar or Zutt*, §87):

en Europe:	en Syrie:
kamav "i'aime";	nanam "j'apporte"
kames	nanék, nanay-
kamel	nanar
kamas	nanan
kamen	nanas
kamen	nanand

Au contraire, dans le verbe "être", non seulement les radicaux, mais les désinences diffèrent de l'Asie à l'Europe, et même dans les diverses parties de l'Europe (Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten*....., XI, p. 49; Sampson, §432; Macalister, §116); voici les types principaux:

Syrie:	Roumanie:	Hongrie:
aštōm (i)	som	som
aštūr (i)	san	sal
ašti, ašta	si	si
aštēn	sam	sam
aštēs	san	san
ašte	si	si:

Au roumain se rattachent le grec (avec i- initial **isom** etc.), le russe et le gallois; au hongrois, le transylvain, le finnois et l'allemand.

L'explication de ces formes, telle qu'elle a été proposée par Sampson, n'est pas exempte d'obscurité et d'arbitraire. En premier lieu, il l'a bien vu, **isom** ne peut dériver directement de skr. **aśmi**, la conservation de la sifflante s'y oppose (cf. **ame** "nous"). Faut-il donc poser un verbe du type **asāmi**? Mais alors on attend les désinences du verbe normal; or **som** ne rappelle aucunement **kamav**. De plus les diverses désinences du 2e singulier, en particulier de hongrois **sal**, all. **hal**, restent inexplicables; in-

expliquée enfin l'opposition des voyelles au singulier et au pluriel, opposition nette en nuri, reconnaissable partiellement en européen.

Puisque les désinences des 2es personnes sont les plus compliquées — et Sampson renonce même à expliquer nuri **aštūr** — il convient de les examiner d'abord; peut-être fourniront-elles un résultat susceptible d'extension aux autres désinences.

Comme Sampson l'a reconnu, la forme de ~~la~~ 2e personne commune au singulier et au pluriel, roumain **san**, grec **isan**, est de par son origine une 3e personne du pluriel: de même dans le verbe normal des dialectes européens, **kamen** 3e pl. a été étendu à la 2e pl. Il en résulte que la 3e pluriel actuelle **si**, grec **isi** est récente, et provient du singulier; il en sera question plus loin.

Le hongrois distingue 2 sg. **sal** de 2 pl. **sin**; **san** étant, comme nous venons de voir, une 3e personne ancienne, il est facile de reconnaître dans **sal** l'ancienne 2e du pluriel passée au singulier, comme **san** a fait dans le groupe roumain: -**i**- représente ici la désinence sanskrite -**tha**, cf. **sovel** < **śipatha**; on sait d'autre part que le représentant nuri de -**th**- est -**s**-: on a donc le droit de comparer directement, du moins pour la désinence, 2 pl. **aštēs**.

Reste à expliquer nuri **aštūr**, — en fait la seule forme qui soit réellement de deuxième personne du singulier, et dont l'isolement permet d'inférer l'ancienneté. Il ne peut être question ici de rappeler skr. **asi**, puisque dans ce cas le verbe "être" et le verbe normal devraient présenter la même désinence: or **nanēk**, obscur du reste, et **nanay** - ne rappellent aucunement **aštūr**. Mais la 3e personne du verbe normal en -**ar**, issue de skr. -**ai**, nous avertit que -**r** final de **aštūr** peut représenter un -**t**- intervocalique. Des lors il apparaît que cette désinence doit renfermer une forme du pronom (**a**)**tu** "toi", qui n'a pas été reconnue ⁽¹⁾, parce que les formes pronominales enclitiques

(1) Au moment où j'écrivais ceci, j'oubliais - et j'avais tort d'oublier - que M. Turner avait deviné l'origine de la forme (**BSOS**, V. p. 47). Je me félicite de la rencontre.

annexées aux verbes font normalement fonction de régime, v. Macalister, § 61: or - m - et - r peuvent représenter aussi bien *ama* et *atu* que **me* et **te*.

Ceci emporte une conséquence importante qu'il faut souligner avant d'aller plus loin. Si *nuri -r* est un pronom enclitique sujet, le mot sur lequel il s'appuie doit être, comme M. Macalister l'avait entrevu, un participe. Dès lors un trait caractéristique du *nuri* s'explique immédiatement: c'est l'opposition entre les voyelles désinentielles au singulier et au pluriel, qui représentent les désinences nominales, sing. -ō, pl. -e.

La troisième personne du pluriel, accommodée à la forme du verbe normal dans le dialecte noté par Pott (*steindi* comme *awendi* "ils viennent"), est chez Macalister la forme nominale sans verbe: ceci est conforme à la règle constante en indo-européen et en indo-aryen.

La contradiction entre 3 sg. -a et -ō- de *aštôm aštûr* doit s'expliquer par la position: -a est la désinence normale des noms élargis; *kajja* "non-tsigane" paraît s'opposer à européen *gajo*, comme hindi *ghorâ* "cheval" à gujarati *ghoro*; mais lep luriel, qui est semblable (*nuri kajje*, eur. *gaje*) tandis que h. *ghore*, guj. *ghorâ* différent, montre que l'opposition n'est pas de même sorte. Il doit s'agir d'une variation intérieure au *nuri*: -ō- est sans doute le traitement en position protégée; c'est ainsi qu'au prétérit on a *nanda kajjan* "il amena les gens", mais *nandôs-san* "il les amena", et bien entendu *nandôm* "j'ai amené" (Macalister. §92-93).

Une difficulté plus sérieuse réside dans la forme du thème: *ahta* ne peut être un participe normal. Le participe normal se termine en *nuri* par -r-, en Europe par -l-, issus de skr. -(1)ta-; ex. *nuri kera*, eur. *xalô* (*khādita*); n. *gara*, eur. *gilo* (*gata*); -t- se rencontre dans les groupes: n. *sita*, eur. *sutô* (*supta*); n. *vêtt*-doublet de *vêš*, part. eur. *beštô* (*upaviṣṭa*). Or *as-* n'a

pas de participe ancien (hrômi "j'ai été" semble contenir bhâta-, cf. ôsô "je suis, serai"); d'autre part, si pkr. sooh-, tsig. eur. so- a bien laissé une trace dans l'optatif nuri hōcam (sur ce point voir J. Gypsy Lore Soc., XI. p. 32), il n'y vit pas de façon indépendante, et du reste ce verbe non plus n'a pas de participe ancien; on attendrait une forme secondaire, comparable à europ acilō. Avons-nous dans a-ēt-a une forme syncopée de sth(i)ta-, comparable (mais à l'inverse) à celle [(da) tta-] contenue dans tōmi "j'ai donné"? Dans ce cas a-ēt-a serait à stīr-ar "il se lève" (cf. skr. uttiṣṭhati ou pkr. citṭhai?) comme a-tr-a "il fut, parut" où sthita-est conservé, à tir - "mettre", cf. encore ta-taw "mettre, placer (sthāp-), tan "lit", eur. than "place, maison".

Du reste la difficulté est exactement la même pour eur. sô; or il semble qu'on puisse poser so: aštā=si: ašti. Les termes de la correspondance ne sont pas limpides, mais l'existence même d'une corrélation est rassurante, et nous pouvons conclure que ašt- et éventuellement s-, quelle qu'en soit la formation, se comportent comme des thèmes de participe.

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Il doit en effet y avoir un participe également à la base du verbe "être" européen. Une indication s'en trouve déjà dans le fait qu'il a conservé dans l'ancienne 2 pl. sal la désinence skr. -tha disparue dans les verbes normaux; j'ai déjà indiqué (J. Gypsy Lore Soc., VII, p. 113) que la cause de cette disparition avait dû être la rencontre de -l- issu de -th- avec -l- issu de -t-, donc la double valeur de 3e sg. et de 2e pl. d'une forme comme kamel; si dans le verbe "être" la 3e sg. était une forme nominale pure, l'amphibologie n'existait pas et 2e pl. sal pouvait subsister.

En second lieu, si sal et san sont des formes primitivement plurielles, on retrouve dans l'opposition de 1 sg. som d'une part, et de l'autre pl. 1 sam, 2 sal, 3 san une opposition vocalique comparable à celle du nuri.

Il y a ici une nouvelle difficulté qu'il faut signaler, mais qui ne paraît pas insurmontable: 1 sg. so-m donne la forme attendue,

mais **sa** n'est pas le pluriel normal de cette forme: le pluriel en **-a** des noms élargis en **-o** n'est pas inconnu de l'indo-aryen, et se trouve p. ex. en sindhi, mais il est exclusif du pluriel en **-e** (sauf archaïsme comme le relatif **je**, pluriel de **jo**). En tsigane d'Europe, **-a** est la désinence plurielle des noms non élargis: **phral** "frère", pl. **phrala**. On aurait donc ici, à côté de **so**, le pluriel d'un singulier **s-**. Cette forme étonne au premier abord; mais elle doit sans doute se ranger avec les participes dont j'ai montré ailleurs (Bull. Soc. Ling. XXXIII p. 61 sqq.) l'abondance dans les parlers du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, et qui ont été créés par utilisation d'un ancien **śs** provenant de skr. **śst**. De cette forme le tsigane d'Europe a par ailleurs tiré une particule indéclinable servant à former le prétérit (ibid p. 59 sq); c'est sans doute la même qu'on retrouve dans le prétérit composé du nuri **nandō-s-** cité plus haut, où l'on ne voit pas pourquoi **s-** serait un pronom oblique.

Qu'en tsigane d'Europe ce participe ait pris le sens présent, n'est pas pour étonner; cf. ksm. **chu**, torwali, maiyā **thu** etc, (ibid. 62 sq.)

Donc ni la forme ni le sens ne s'opposent à ce qu'on voie dans l'opposition **so-: sa-** l'opposition de formes nominales du singulier et du pluriel.

Cette interprétation permet d'abord d'écarter une objection possible à l'interprétation ci-dessus proposée de **sal**: cette forme n'est attestée que comme appartenant au singulier; ne pourrait-on y chercher le pronom **tu**, reconnu dans la 2e sg. du nuri? Cette explication, admissible en ce qui concerne la consonne (cf. 3 sg. **-el** du skr. **-ati**), ne rendrait pas compte de l'identité de la voyelle avec celle des formes plurielles.

A vrai dire si les formes sont claires, leur histoire se devine mal. Pourquoi la 2e sg. ancienne a-t-elle disparu au profit de la 2e pl. **sal** (ou **san**, elle-même ancienne 3e pl.)? A-t-il existé à une époque comparativement récente une forme ***so-l** (**so+tu**) éliminée

au profit de **sal** presque homonyme ? ou une forme **so-s** (**so+asi**) qui genait comme d'aspect prétérit ? La syntaxe en tout cas n'y poussait pas : le tzigane d'Europe distingue encore bien **tu** "toi" de **tume** "vous", pluriel réel, comme l'asiatique distingue **atu** de **atme**.

Quoiqu'il en soit, il semble qu'à la deuxième personne le participe s'accompagne d'une désinence verbale au pluriel, et, en Asie au moins, pronominale au singulier. Les premières personnes contiennent-elles des pronoms ou des désinences verbales ?

Le singulier est ambigu : **-m** peut s'expliquer par **me** ou par **asmi**. La formation avec **asmi** se trouve ailleurs : le kašmīri a masc. **chu-s**, fém. **chō-s** "je suis", en regard de **gupa** "je cache"; dans cette langue "moi" se dit **boh**, oblique **me**; donc **-s** ne peut être que **asmi**, ce qui est d'accord avec la phonétique locale, cf. **asi** < skr. **asme**. C'est aussi le cas pour le shina (**ma**) **hanus**, f. **hanis** "(je) suis", en regard de **hanu**, **hani** "il, elle est"; cf. le pluriel **hane s** "nous sommes" où **-s** provient de skr. **smah** d'après l'explication que je dois à M. Turner. Avec le même aspect phonétique qu'en tzigane, il semble qu'on reconnaisse **asmi** dans le dialecte pašai de Laurowan (Morgenstierne, Report.....p. 93), **hang-âm** "je bats", en regard de **hangâ** "il bat", **hang-i-âm** "je te bats", cf. **hanam-i** "je te battrai". Quant à bengali **-âm** du prétérit, S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and dev.*, p. 977, n'a pu y apporter la clarté.

Si l'hypothèse indiquée plus haut d'un ***sos** '2 sg. perdu était admise, on choisirait pour la 1e sg. **so+pk.** **ahmi**; mais c'est un faible appui qu'une hypothèse pour choisir entre deux hypothèses.

Le pluriel européen nous laisse dans le même embarras : **sa-m** peut contenir également bien **pk.** **mha** ou **amhe**; peut-être l'absence de trace de voyelle finale serait-elle une indication contre le pronom. Le nuri n'est d'aucun secours, d'autant que la désinence

du verbe "être" est ici celle du verbe normal: ce qui permet en tout cas d'écarter l'idée qu'on aurait dans **astên** affaire à **skr nah**; du reste **nah** n'est pas un nominatif; et enfin le nuri pas plus que le tsigane dans l'ensemble n'ont gardé de trace de cette forme (M. Morgenstierne croit la reconnaître dans l'unique dialecte **pashai** de Nilam, Report—, p. 91).

A le 3e personne, nous avons vu que le nuri a des formes nominales pures. Le tsigane d'Europe si provient peut-être de **asti** comme l'enseigne Sampson; à vrai dire la présence au Suket (G. Bailey, Ling. Studies.....p. 208) de **asi** indéclinable à côté de **ni athi** indéclinable permet d'entrevoir que la question n'est pas simple. On peut rappeler qu'au Punjab **si** primitivement réservé au préterit fém. sing. s'est, sous l'influence de i "est" commun aux deux genres, étendu au masculin, et même au pluriel, ainsi que m'en informe M. Siddheswar Varma. En tout cas le passage du singulier au pluriel, et en ce qui concerne all. **hin** le passage inverse, ne font pas difficulté (sur ces points, indications de M. Woolner, J. G. L. S.¹ III p. 181, 183).

Il faut dire un mot de **sen** coexistant avec **san** en finnois, et unique en gallois. Faut-il y voir la continuation de **santi** (cf. eur. **ivend** < skr. **hemanti**)? Possible à la rigueur, un tel archaïsme étonne dans ces dialectes. Il paraît plus sûr d'y voir une adaptation de **san** au verbe normal, du type **kamen**.

* * * * *

Tout n'est donc pas clair dans le verbe "être" du tsigane. Mais il semble que le nuri fournisse la clef des principales difficultés; en laissant apparaître un participe à la base du paradigme. La même formation est, comme on a vu, fréquente dans l'Indoukouch, où le participe se rencontre même à l'état nu, et avec le sens présent, contrairement à l'usage de l'Inde propre. Ce qui est curieux, c'est le mélange des désinences pronominales et verbales, sûr aux deuxièmes personnes en Asie, possible ailleurs,

Le schème est celui-ci :

	Europe	Asie
3 sg.	astif	Participe seul
3 pl.	(Participe+désinence du verbe normal)	Participe seul
2 sg.	(perdue)	Participe+tu
2 pl.	Participe+ -tha	Participe+ -tha
1 sg.	Participe+ahmi plutôt que me!	Participe+ahmi ou me
1 pl.	Participe+mha plutôt que ahme	Participe+ désinence du verbe normal

On peut se demander si ce système composite n'est pas issu d'un état comparable à celui du kašmiri qui a à la 1e sg. **asmi** affixé, et à la 2e pl. **-tha: chiwa**, f. **chewa** comme **gupiw** "vous cachez"; la 2e sing. aussi a été adaptée au verbe normal: **chukh** comme **gupakh**). Dans ce cas il est concevable que l'ambiguïté de **-m** à la 1e personne du singulier ait pu servir de point de départ à l'affixation de formes pronominales à la 1e du pluriel et à la 2e du singulier.

SUR LES NOMS INDO-EUROPÉENS DU "LAIT"

By A. Meillet

L'existence d'un nom ancien, établi par des concordances entre plusieurs langues distinctes, garantit le fait qu'une notion était connue des hommes qui parlaient l'"indo-européen" commun; en revanche l'absence d'un nom commun à plusieurs langues n'est, bien entendu, pas une raison suffisante de douter qu'une notion ait été nettement dégagée dans le monde indo-européen. Les noms du "lait" illustrent ce principe.

Dans une société où le bétail était la principale richesse, le lait était utilisé, donc nommé (v. l'article *Milch* du Reallexikon de Schrader-Nehring). Mais les noms varient d'une langue à l'autre, et, en général, ils n'ont pas cette transparence qui caractérise les noms présentant des innovations dues à des interdictions de vocabulaire. Ils rappellent plutôt ces noms de parties du corps qui diffèrent d'une langue indo-européenne à l'autre même quand ils présentent entre eux des ressemblances et qu'on n'arrive pas à ramener à une forme originelle commune. Il s'agit du vocabulaire technique et familier qui n'avait pas d'unité en indo-européen; seuls étaient communs à l'ensemble du monde indo-européen les termes qui désignaient les actes principaux de la vie, les principales institutions sociales comme la parenté, les grands animaux domestiques. On ne connaît, pour l'indo-européen commun, qu'un seul nom d'oiseau, celui de l'"oie"; mais s'agit d'une volaille, c'est à dire d'une chose qui intéressait proprement les femmes; qu'on se reporte au songe de Pénélope dans l'*Odyssée* I. 535 et suiv. Et le nom se dénonce par sa vocalisation comme un terme populaire: les langues qui révèlent le timbre de la voyelle s'accordent à présenter l' *a*, qui est, on le sait, l'une des caractéristiques du vocabulaire populaire en indo-européen: *χάραξ* en grec, *anser* en latin. Si le lait n'a pas de nom indo-européen commun, c'est que c'est un produit qui relève des techniques féminines et n'intéresse pas proprement les chefs.

La forme grecque du nom du lait, *γάλα*, *galaktos* est, par elle-même, insolite au point de vue indo-européen. Le caractère

“populaire” du mot est indiqué par ceci qu’on trouve la consonne gémignée intérieure, si rarement attestée en grec, au moins dans une forme d’un glossaire: **glakkôn. galathēnôn**. Hes., dans un dérivé. Et l’on observe des flottements entre **k** et **g**; Homère a **glāgos** et **periglagéas** (acc. plur.) tandis que le crétois a **klagos**; le vocalisme est aussi flottant: Homère a **glaktophāgos** et on lit chez Hesychius **glakkōnes mestai gálaktos** (v. Boisacq, Dict. etym. de la l. gr., p. 1102, et la biblio-graphie citée).

Le latin **lac, lactis** ne se laisse rapprocher d’une forme grecque **glakt-** qu’à la rigueur, à cause de l’absence de la gutturale initiale. Et le mot grec n’a aucun correspondant ailleurs.

Le mot grec et le mot latin, qui ont entre eux une grande ressemblance, s’accordent du reste à présenter le vocalisme “populaire” **a**.

Dans une autre région dialectale de l’indo-européen, on observe une concordance limitée à deux langues: le mot du type archaïque ved. **dādhi, dadhnāḥ** désigne le “lait aigre”; la langue religieuse en a tiré parti, et on trouve **dadh(i)y āśirah somāsaḥ** les **somas** mélangés de lait (aigre). Or, en vieux prussien, le vocabulaire d’Elbing a le neutre **dadān** comme nom du “lait”, et **rustan dadān** “sauermilch” (lait aigre.) Les langues baltiques autres que le vieux prussien et les langues slaves ignorent le mot. On a l’impression qu’il y a ici un nom à redoublement; or, dans les noms indo-européens, le redoublement est une des caractéristiques du type “populaire”. Sur le timbre de la voyelle de la syllabe initiale, on ne peut rien dire, puisque l’**a** baltique comme l’**a** védique peut reposer sur **o** aussi bien que sur **a**; le vocalisme “populaire” **a** n’est pas exclu.

Un autre groupe de noms du “lait” se trouve à la fois en indo-iranien et en balte, mais sous des formes différentes dans les deux familles de langues. Le sanskrit a **páyah, payasaḥ**, à quoi l’Avesta récent répond par **payō**; c’est le nom du “lait” en tant que liquide nourricier. Mais l’Avesta a aussi une autre

formation, **pa^{ma}**, et c'est au dérivé **pa^{ma}vaiti** que répond pour le sens véd. **páyasva**! Une chienne qui allaite est dite dans l'Avesta **pa^{ma}maini**. Le letto-lituanien a un mot parent, mais qui ne concorde ni avec l'un ni avec l'autre des deux mots cités: lit. **pi^{nas}** lette **pi^{ns}**. Le lituanien laisse, comme l'indo-iranien, apercevoir que tous ces mots appartiennent à une racine verbale: en lituanien **papijusi kárve** se dit d'une vache qui ne retient pas son lait, et **py'dyti** "faire donner du lait" (v. A. Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wört d. indog Sprachen, II, p. 73 et suiv.). M. H. Pedersen, dans Grammatical Miscellany Jespersen. p. 65, a écarté avec raison le rapprochement qui a été proposé avec v. angl. **fæmne** "jeune femme".

Le sanskrit a un autre mot, **kṣīrām** "lait" (**khīr** dans l'Inde actuelle), qui n'a de correspondants connus qu'en iranien: persan **šīr** etc.

Le mot skr. **māstu**, qui distingue la crème montée sur le lait aigre, a des correspondants en iranien, notamment persan **māst** "lait aigre", à côté du verbe **māsīdan** "cailler". On rapproche souvent arm. **macanim** "je me colle" et "je me coagule"; mais c'est v. sl. **mazati** "enduire" et gr. **māgis** 'pâte pétrie' que la phonétique et aussi le sens de 'se coller' autorisent à rapprocher du mot arménien. Le mot indo-iranien est donc isolé.

Tous les substantifs cités jusqu'ici sont neutres, parce que le lait était en général envisagé comme un produit. Mais on pouvait aussi considérer le lait comme actif, et en effet l'Avesta oppose **xšvis** (nominatif), designant le "lait" liquide, à **ōsruitiš** qui désigne ce qui est solide; les gāthā ont l'accusatif **xšvidem**

On s'explique ainsi la différence entre le nom germanique du "lait", got. **miluks**, etc., qui est féminin, et le nom v. sl. **mlěko** (russe **molokó** etc.), qui est neutre. Les deux mots ne concordent pas dans le détail; car le mot germanique repose sur un radical **meleg**, et le mot slave sur un radical **melek**. La différence rappelle celle entre **glag-** et **glak-**—en grec. Mais on peut aussi se demander si le mot germanique n'a pas subi

l'influence de la racine signifiant "traire", v. angl. *melcan*, etc. La forme du mot slave exclut l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au germanique; et elle exclut également tout rapport d'origine avec la racine signifiant "traire" qui, en slave, est de la forme *melz-*; du reste, même en germanique, v. angl. *meoluc* 'lait', n'est pas conciliable avec *melcan* 'traire'. Mais une 'étymologie populaire' est toujours possible, surtout dans un mot tel que le nom du 'lait'.

Il n'est pas surprenant que la racine signifiant 'traire'. ait agi sur le nom du "lait". Car le celtique en a tiré le nom même du 'lait,' *írl. mlicht (blicht), gall. blith*. Les noms tokhariens, A *malke*, B *malkwer* paraissent aussi appartenir à la racine **melg-*.

Dans l'Atharvaveda, x, 10, 30-31, la traite de la vache', *dugdhāṃ vāsāyāḥ*, s'oppose au nom propre du 'lait' *īśāyāḥ*; et, par la suite, *dugdham* 'ce qui a été traité' est devenu un nom courant du 'lait', si bien que *dūdh* est demeuré dans l'Inde actuelle au sens de 'lait frais'.

Le genre neutre de la plupart des noms qu'on vient de voir n'est pas inhérent à ces substantifs eux-mêmes, mais provient de la manière dont les choses étaient conçues. Car les mêmes substantifs, s'ils désignent des laitances (de poissons), sont du genre animé (féminin) : *lactēs* en latin, *molóki* en russe.

Les mots déjà indiqués n'épuisent pas, tant s'en faut, la terminologie du 'lait'. On s'est abstenu de citer ici les mots isolés comme arm. *kat'n* (gen. *kat'in*) ou alb. *dhate* (nom du lait aigre).

Si les noms du 'lait' sont variés, et parfois dans une même langue: le sanskrit ayant à la fois, dès le début, *payāḥ*, *dādh* et *kāṣṭham*, l' Avesta ayant à la fois *payō*, *paēma*, *xšvis* (et de plus, une fois, on lit *xšiptavaiti* à côté de *pamavati*, et ce *xšipta* n'est pas isolé en iranien, voir le *Wörterbuch de Bartholomae*) c'est que le lait est envisagé d'une manière toute matérielle, comme une chose qu'on considère de manières diverses suivant l'état où il se présente et suivant les usages qu'on en fait;

On aperçoit ici quelque chose du vocabulaire technique indo-européen, et d'une technique féminine, chose exceptionnelle. Le vocabulaire indo-européen ne se bornait naturellement pas aux mots de la langue des chefs que présente en évidence la comparaison des langues indo-européennes et sur laquelle est fondée la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes.

A NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

By L. D. Barnett

In his very able and for the most part convincing paper on "Puṣyamitra and the Śunga Empire" in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V. pts. 3 4, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda adds to our many obligations to him by giving the true reading of the crucial passage in the Hathigumpha inscription which is commonly but wrongly supposed to contain a date. The actual letters of l. 16, according to the irrefutable evidence of the cast in the Indian Museum, are as follows: **panatariya [mīufīr?] iyakāle v o c h i n e c a c o y a ṭ h i a g a s a t i k a m t a r i y a m u p ā - d a y a t i ***.

With his ingenious interpretation of these letters I regret that I cannot agree, as it would require the change of **vochine** to **vochinam** and ignores the patent parallelism of the words **panatariya** and **satikamtariyam**, and I therefore venture to put forward with considerable diffidence a new version of the passage.

The Prakrit words of the passage may be naturally converted into Sanskrit and translated thus:—**pañcāntariya Mauryakāle (?) vyavacchinne ca catuṣṣaṭṭyagraṃ saptikāntariyam** [scil. *kālam*] **utpādayati**, "and when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning which consisted of lustres (*antara*) of five [years] each, had broken down, he founds [a new time-reckoning] consisting of lustres of seven years each and mounting up to the sixty-fourth year". With such a use of **antara** in the sense of successive periods of time compare *e. g.* **Manvantara**.

*The Rai Bahadur with extreme kindness has sent me a photograph of the passage as it is preserved on the cast, which shows no trace of the chisel-mark where Bhagvanlal Indraji read **mu**, and only an uncertain trace of an **r**.

It is well known that in early time a lustre or **yuga** of five solar years of 366 days each, amounting in all to 1830 days, was in use, and that subsequently 12 **yugas** of five years each were combined to make up the cycle of **Br̥haspati** (Jupiter) or **Bārhaspatya samvatsara-cakra**, which comprises 60 years and thus forms a period combining the five-year solar **yugas** with the twelve-yearly cycles in which Jupiter completes his sidereal revolution. It is this system of five-year **yugas**, I believe, to which Khāravela here refers when he speaks of "the Mauryan(?) time-reckoning consisting of lustres of five [years] each". The system apparently had broken down and ceased to work in Kalinga, in other words, astronomical calculations were unable to harmonise the solar with the lunar year; and to reform the calendar, it would seem, Khāravela introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 **yugas** of 7 years each (*viz.* 1-7, 8-14, 15-21, 22-28, 29-35, 36-42, 43-49, 50-56, 57-63) with a concluding 64th year. On what astronomical principles this attempt at calendrical reform was based we cannot tell. Apparently it aimed at harmonising somehow the cycle of **Br̥haspati** with the solar year. It is worth noting that, as according to the **Sūryasiddhānta** a year of the cycle of **Br̥haspati** is about 4·232 days less than a solar year, this deficiency in seven years would amount to 29·624 days, nearly agreeing with the length of the synodic month of 29½ days, and this deficiency could then be made good by intercalation of an **adbika** month.

For the odd 64th year the following explanation may be suggested. If, as is quite possible, the cycle started from a day other than the first of the calendrical year, say the day of Khāravela's coronation, a year reckoned from this starting-point would run over into the next calendar year; hence after the completion of the 63rd year of the cycle there would remain a certain space of time, less than a calendar year, between the end of the 63rd year of the cycle and the termination of the calendar year in which that end fell. For instance, suppose the calendar

began the year with Caitra, and that the cycle of Khāravēla started on the first day of Kārttika; then the 63rd year would end on the last day of Āśvina, after which there would be a period of 5 months (Kārttika to Phālguna) which would be reckoned as the 64th year, after which the following 7 months (from the first of Caitra to the end of Āśvina) would be counted as constituting the first year of a new cycle. Thus the last year and the following first year would in reality comprise only one true year, and the cycle would consist altogether of not more than 63 real years. Such a practice is not unknown: a parallel may be quoted from the *Aṅka* or "Onko" system of Orissa (which, it should be observed, was the home of Khāravēla), according to which "when a prince dies in the middle of an Onko year, his successor's 1st Onko which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapada-śuddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other together occupy only one year, and one year is dropped in effect" (Sewell and Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, p. 38).

As the first letter of the word **muriya** in the inscription is quite uncertain, one is tempted to suggest that after all the reading **muriya** may be erroneous, and should be corrected to **suriya**: the system of five-year lustres is a solar one. The Rai Bahadur further tells us that before **muriya** are traces of four or five letters which are now "totally defaced". These were read by Bhagvanlal Indraji as **saṭhivasasate raja-**, and by Mr. Jayaswal as **satasahasehi**. Very little reliance can be placed upon either of these decipherments: but as the inscription was probably in better condition when first found by Bhagvanlal, his reading of the first four letters, **saṭhivasa**, may possibly be right, and if so, it will support my interpretation. For it means that the cycle superseded or amended by Khāravēla was the cycle of 60 years, i. e. of 12 lustres of 5 years each, and may we

conjecturally restore the text to **panatariya-saṭhivasage**, in Sanskrit **pañcāntariya-ṣaṣṭi-varṣagre**

A slight difficulty in the way of accepting the above suggestions arises from the fact that **pañca** in the sense of **pañcakam** or **pañcikā**, a group of five, is somewhat unusual; but **pañcāntaram** in the 'meaning of 'an interval of five [years]' may be justified by compounds like **pañcahotā** (RV. V. xl. 1). It may also be remarked that **saptikā** in place of the common **saptakam** is without authority; but it is fully justified by the analogy of **pañcikā**.

SOME SANSKRIT AND PALI NOTES

By Jarl Charpentier

1. Skt. avadhvaṃsa.

In AV. V, 22. 3 we read the following words: **yaḥ paruṣaḥ pāruṣeṣyo 'vadhvaṃsa ivāruṇaḥ, takmānaṃ viśvadhāvīryā-dhārāṇcam para suvā**, where apparently **takman**, the demon of fever¹, is spoken of as being "red as **avadhvaṃsa**." To this word is ascribed in the dictionaries the sense of "sprinkling, powdering" (He. an. IV, 324; Med. p. H 47); and Boëthlingk - Roth, quoting the AV.-passage, translate the word with "dust" or "flour".

Professor Lüders some years ago² dealt with this verse in the Atharva-Veda and translated the words in question "rot wie Streupulver", at the same time suggesting that **avadhvaṃsa** should really mean the same as **maṇaḥśīlā**, red arsenic, which like the yellow one (**haritāla**) seems to have been frequently used, already at an early time, for paint and powder, for making **tilakas** etc. Although such a suggestion is altogether justified it seems that we can perhaps, with the aid of a fairly late source, fix beyond doubt the real sense of **avadhvaṃsa**. For, we find in Hemacandra's **Deśināmamālā**, 1,168 the following words: **oḥamso candanaṃ candanaḥgharṣanaśīlā ceti dvyarthaḥ**. The word **oḥamso** consequently means "sandal" and "a stone for rubbing sandal into powder". In the sense of "sandal" it is undoubtedly a **tadbhava** from **avadhvaṃsa** and thus proves that this word in the AV.-passage must mean "red sandal". Again in the sense of "rubbing stone" it is apparently identic with **ohariso.....candana-gharṣana-**

(1) He is said to make men and all beings "green" or "yellowish green" (**harita**, AV. V, 22, 2; VI, 20, 3; cf. I, 25, 2. 3). In VI, 20, 3 he is called **aruṇa** "red" and **babhrū** "tawny" etc.

(2) Cf. *Aufsätze*. . . Ernst Kuhn *gevidmet* (1916), p. 321 sq.

śilā in the *Deśināmamālā* 1,169 and must be derived from Skt. *avagharṣa.¹

Takman, the fever demon, is red in colour like red sandal. For, red is the colour of blood, of death, of fear; it is frequently the colour of evil spirits but also the one with which you scare them off, with which you turn off the evil eye and other malign influences.²

2. P. asimālā.

The *Culladhammapāla-jātaka* (358) is one of the most insipid and unattractive of all the texts belonging to the great collection of Jātakas and bears a certain similarity to the often rather unsavoury tales of the various arts of self-sacrifice practised by the Bodhisattva. It tells us how King Mahāpratāpa of Benares got angry with his seven months old son (the Bodhisattva) because his mother paid too much heed to him, and decided to have him killed. He thus called for the chief executioner (*coraghātaka*)³ and ordered him to fetch the child and successively to slash off its hands, feet and head.⁴ At last even the mangling of the lifeless

(1) The Petersburg Dict. only gives *avagharṣana* in the sense of "rubbing off"; but there is no doubt that **avagharṣa* must mean the same thing.

(2) On red as a magic colour cf. above all the articles of Professor Zachariæ in *VOJ.* XVII, 135 sq. 211 sq. and *Kleine Schriften* p. 233 sq.; also my article on *pūjā* in the *Festgabe*, H. Jacobi p. 276 sq. (reprinted in the *IA*, LVI; on *pūjā* Cf. also M. Przyluski, *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions* XCV, 347 sq.).

(3) Here as in *Jātaka* 313 and elsewhere he carries yellow robes (*kāsāyavattha*) and garlands of red flowers; his chief instrument is an axe (*pharasu*). In *Jātaka* 313 he carries a thorny whip (*kaṇṭhakakāsā*) while in our text he is provided with an *upadhāna-ghaṭṭikā* (a word, it seems, of uncertain sense but which must mean the same as *dhammaghaṇṭhikā* in *Jātaka* I, 150, 24. 27, viz. "an executioner's block"). On yellow colour in magic etc. cf. *Festgabe*, H. Jacobi p. 296 n. 4 where these passages have, unfortunately, been left out.

(4) It seems obvious that the verses of this *Jātaka* are in disorder and do not tally with the prose version. The order should probably be 4-5, 1, 6, 2-3.

corpse" is ordered by the unnatural father: "asitupḍeṇa naṃ paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma karohiṭi". So' tassa kalevaraṃ ākāse khipitvā asitupḍeṇa paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma katvā mahātale vippakiri (Jātaka III, 180, 23-sq.).

The general trend of the narrative is quite clear: the executioner throws the corpse into the air, catches it on the point of his sword and then in some way, cuts the corpse to pieces and flings them all over the palace-roof. In the following the poor mother is made to collect the scraps of flesh and put them in her lap. However, the word *asimālā* does not seem to be sufficiently clear; nor does the second passage where it occurs, viz. *Dāṭhāvamsa* III, 45², make it clearer as this verse simply sums up the main contents of our Jātaka:

yo Dhammapālo apī sattamāsa-
jāto paduṭṭhe janake sakamhi
kārapayante asimālakammaṃ
cittaṃ no dūsesi Patāparāje.

However it seems sufficiently obvious that *asimālā* "sword-garland" must mean some peculiar trick by which a corpse impaled on a sword is at the same time quartered and the pieces made to spread into different directions.³

(1) Viz., the *coraghātaka*.

(2) JPTS. 1884, p. 128.

(3) The PTS. Pali Dict. I, 88 gave an absolutely senseless interpretation of the word but this has been corrected in Corrigenda to pt. I (inserted between n and p, the curious pagination not admitting any better way of quoting the passage) and s. v. *māla*-. In spite of Kern, *Toevoegselen*, I, 161 there scarcely exists any word *māla*-, *māla*- "mud". In Jātaka, VI, 400, 13 "pitch" would be a much more sensible translation; and *ibid.* II, 416, 12 sq. *mālākacavara*- probably means "a heap of withered garlands" (under which the corpse of Sundarī was concealed just as in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* the rogue conceals *Vasantasenā* under a heap of fallen leaves; the meaning of p. *kacavara*- becomes still clearer by a Prākṛit word which must in some way belong here, viz., *kayāro kajjavo tathā katavaro tṛṇādyutkarah*, *Deśināmamālā*, 2, 11). and in Mil. p. 117. there cannot be the slightest doubt that *phenamālā* means "wreathes of foam" — a not uncommon mode of expression.

The word *asimālā* "sword-garland" seems to me to have an illustrative parallel in certain expressions that have formed round that most horrid mode of punishment, viz the impaling on a stake. First of all we find the expression *uttāseti* (generally identified with Skt. *uttamsayati*) for which some examples from the *Jātaka*-book may be sufficient. In *Jātaka*, I, 326, 2 we read the following order of a king: "āghātane sisam assa chinditvā sariraṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'"; in II, 443, 6 we meet with the expression: *taṃ paṇa purisaṃ jivasūle' uttāsesum* (where in V. 2 the *sūla* is spoken of as *asi* and *śakti*); in III, 34, 6-7 we are told that *tasmim paṇa kāle core gahetvā nimbasūle uttāsentī* (in the same text III, 34, 25-26: *coraṃ gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakaṃ appenti nimbasūlasamim*)²; in IV, 29, 2-3 the king orders his men concerning the ascetic Maṇḍavya: "gacchatha, naṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'", and *ibid.* 11. 13-14 the ascetic speaks thus to his executioners: "aace maṃ sūle uttāsetukāṃ' attha koviḷārasūlaṃ āharathā 'ti'". On the same page 1.18 there occurs the participle of this same verb in the expression *sūle uttāsito* "he is impaled on a stake"; and the identical expression is found in I, 499, 14 while in I, 500, 11-13 we again meet with the words *sūle uttāsetha* and *sūle uttāsesum*. Finally we also find a substantive *uttāsana*- "impalement" in II, 444, 1.

Now there is no doubt that p. *uttāseti* is Skt. *uttamsayati*³, a derivative of *uttamsa*- "wreath", and means "to adorn with a

(1) Cf. the curious expression in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 417. 8: *jīvantisūlām atha kārayāmi*. There are different modes of impaling a dead corpse or a person who is still alive.

(2) The *Nim* tree (L. *Melia Azadirachta*) which is sacred to various gods seems to have sometimes enjoyed a sinister reputation though it is also useful in several ways, cf. e.g. 'Witts, Commercial Products, p. 780; Sir George Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life p. 391; Enthoven, Bombay Folklore pp. 137. 139 sq. 224. 246. 262. 264. 342 etc.

(3) This verb is found in the *Mukundānandabhāṣa* 12, 4; 23, 6; cf. also *samuttamsita*- in *Dharmaśarmābhyaṅga*, 4, 39.

The substantive *uttāsaitṭa* in *Āyār. sutsa* p. 7, 1 (Schubring) must, I suppose be taken to be **uttrāsayitar*-and not **uttamsayitar* (Pischel, Pkt. Gr, §582 less correctly takes it to be=*uttrāsayitvā*)

wreath, a garland". The grim humour has thus described the poor wretch impaled on the stake as a sort of wreath adorning this horrible instrument of torture. No doubt the same sort of grim and expressive humour underlies the word *asimālā* which, unfortunately, I have only been able to find in the passage quoted above¹.

In Sanskrit we seem to have at least one passage where the verb *ava-tams-* is used in the same sense in which we have here found *ut-tams-* being made use of. Professor R. Schmidt in his supplements to the Petersburg Dictionary quotes from the *Daśakumāracarita* p. 41, 16 the expression *sūlāvatampsita-*² which must mean exactly the same as *sūlā uttāsita* in Pali, i.e. "placed like a wreath on the stake". Though there would always be a possibility that *uttāseti* could, by the way of **ōttāseti*, be derived from *ava tamsayati* this does not seem at all necessary. We may rest content that both *sūle avatampsayati* and *uttampsayati* meant the same thing and that they may both throw some light on the word *asimālā* dealt with here.³

3. Skt. Kalevara-.

To Skt. *Kalevara-* correspond in Pāli *kaḷebara-*, *kalebara-*, *kalevara-* and in the "Sanskrit" of the Northern Buddhists *kaḍevara-*⁴; once we find even a form *kaḍepara-*⁵. According to

(1) There is another expression which is somewhat parallel in sense to *uttāseti*, viz., *sūle āvunāti* "to impale" (properly "to string, tie, fix to a stake") e.g. *Jātaka*, III, 35; *āvunāpeti*, III, 218; *āvuta-* "impaled", V, 145; VI, 105 of fishes stuck on a spit, etc.; cf. Morris, JPTS. 1884, p. 91.

(2) Though I have looked through all the editions of the *Daśakumāracarita* available to me I have, unfortunately, not been able to identify the passage.

(3) A parallel expression is found in the term *jotimālaka-* "the garland of fire", denoting some other horrible form of torture, Mil. P. p. 197 etc. The way of procedure is not quite clear (cf. Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism p. 32; Kern, *Toevoegselen* I, 46); I suppose it means wrapping the body in oiled wreaths of cotton and putting fire to them.

(4) E. g. *Divyāvadāna* p. 39, 11; *Avad. sat.* II, 26, 1 (the same phrase in both passages).

(5) Leumann. *Zur nordar. Sprache u. Literatur* p. 41 n.

the researches of Professor Lüders Feſtschrift Wackernagel p. 294 sq. the -ḍ- or -ḷ- should everywhere, when found besides a dental -l-, be the primary sound; and although his conclusions are at times rather uncritical¹, I should feel inclined to think that this is most'y—though not always—the case. However, it is not my purpose here to try to find for *kalevara-* any etymological connection which would probably be a quite hopeless task; I only want to add a few remarks concerning the real meaning of the word:

Kalevara- is generally said to mean “the body” and “a dead body, a carcass” which undoubtedly seems to be the case. If that be so, it is, however, extremely difficult to find out what underlies the Pāli expression *sopāna-kalevara-* which in Majjh. Nik. II, 92 apparently means “(the step in) a flight of stairs” and which is certainly to be preserved in CV. V, 21, 2 (=Vin. P. II, 128) as being the lectio difficilior instead of **kalīngara* adopted by Oldenberg². This again goes far to explain an otherwise puzzling expression in the Jain Uttarādhyayanāsūtra 0, 35 where we read:

kakalevarasen'ṃ uttiyā siddhiṃ Goyama loyaṃ gacchasi |

hemaṃ ca sivaṃ anuttaraṃ samayaṃ Goyama mā pamāyae||

The word *akalevarasen'* is explained by Devendra in his *ṭikā* in the following way³: *akalevaraśreniḥ | avidyamānaṃ kaḍevaram eṣiṃ akaḍavarāḥ siddhāś teṣāṃ śrenir akaḍeva-raśreniḥ* etc, which only shows that even a good commentary

(1) This is exemplified by such passages as that dealing with the name of the pomegranate (Skt. *dāḍīma-* etc.) on p. 305; as Dr. Laufer, Sino-Iranica p. 282 sq. had previously shown the word is traceable to some Iranian name of this tree which is decidedly not a native of India. Nor does the paragraph dealing with *kāla-* and *kālā-* (p. 300 sq.) inspire entire confidence etc.

(2) And also by Kern, Toevogtselen, I, 141.

(3) Cf. my edition of the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra p. 319).

like that of Devendra is apt to produce, in dubious cases, almost unlimited nonsense. For, compared with the Pāli word it is at once obvious that **akalevara-sreṇi** can mean nothing but "a ladder without steps or rungs".

As it would be rather out of the way to assume the existence of two different words **kalevara-** (**kaḍvara-** etc.) one is entitled to ask for some sort of connection between the meanings, "body, carcass" and "step of a flight of stairs, rung of a ladder". Such a connection, I venture to believe, is established by the Prakrit word **kalero kaṅkālaḥ karālaśca** (Dśināmamālā 2, 53, cf. Trivikrama I, 3, 105) which Pischel¹ has correctly derived from **kalevara**². This seems to make the whole thing tolerably clear: **kalevara-** (**kaḍvara-**) originally means "the ribs, the thorax", and it thus naturally enough developed the sense of "carcass" and "body". As, on the other hand, the steps in a flight of stairs or the rungs of a ladder were not ineptly compared with the ribs of the thorax this gave rise to the expressions **sopāna-kalevara-** and **akalevara-sreṇi-** dealt with above. Thus **sopāna-kalevara-** originally means something like "the ribs of staircase".

4. P. iṭṭhi.

In the **Mahānārada-kassapajātaka** (544), V. 22³ we read in the description of an excursion of the King of Videha:

**Taṃ anuyāyup bahavo iṭṭhikhaggadharā bali
assapiṭṭhigatā dhīrā narā naravarādhipaṃ.**

The commentary does not explain the word **iṭṭhi**⁴, and it does not seem to have been understood. For, Kern, *Toevogscien* I, 139 suggests that the true reading should be **iddhakhaggadharā** "carrying flaming swords" which is accepted without further commentaries by the PTS Pāli Diet. I, 119.

(1) Bezz. Beitr. VI, 95; Pkt. Gr. §149.

(2) I do not here touch upon **kalera-** = **karāla-** as I shall hope to deal with that later on.

(3) Jātaka ed. Fausbøll VI, 223, 18.

(4) For which the Ms. B⁴ = reads **inda**^o.

Suśruta and may well be a later formation than the Pāli word. This, however, is of no consequence; for, °*poṇa-* is *pavana-* meaning "an instrument for cleansing, rinsing (the teeth)".¹

The -*ṇ*- in °*poṇa-* is out of order from the ordinary point of view and simply belongs to those not uncommon cases where Pāli shares with the later Prakrits the cerebralisation of an intervocalic -*n*-. A word of exactly the same formaton is *moṇi-* "a basket for keeping snakes", *Hc. au. II*, 151; it must be derived from Skt. °*mavana-*² which belongs to *mav-* "to bind" (*Pāṇ. VI*, 4, 20). Another word which seems to be identical in its structure with these both is *p. Pkt. loṇa-* "salt" (for which the modern vernaculars, as is well known, have forms beginning with *l-* or *n-*)³. There, however, already the Sanskrit shows a cerebral in the form *lavana-*. The etymology of this word remains unknown;⁴ there is nothing to correspond to it even in the Iranian languages.⁵ Nor can the exact meaning be said to be absolutely clear; at any rate the meaning of the derivation *lāv-anya-* might easily suggest that the original sense was both that of "salt" and "sweet"—a case which is by no means without parallels. However, this is probably not the case: *lavana-*

(1) For the sake of the meaning cf. *pavanī* "a broom". Whether *poṇiā sūtrabhṛt tarkuḥ* (*Deśināmamālā*, 6, 61) could be connected with these words I dare not decide. If so it would correspond to Sanskrit °*pavanikā*.

(2) In *Indog. Forsch.*, XXIX, 399 n. 3., I less correctly derived it from °*mauna-*.

(3) Cf. e.g. Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe*, p.400.

(4) The suggestions of professor Reichelt, *Strzeitberg Festgabe*, p. 295 sq. are wholly unconvincing.

(5) The Indo-Iranian languages have no common name of the salt; nor do they share in the common European name of this mineral, which was something like °*sāl-d*, °*sal-n-és* (cf. J. Schmidt, *Pluralbildungen*, p. 182 sq.). This still forms a weighty argument in favour of the theory that the unbroken Indo-European community did not know the use of salt (cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, 2nd ed., II, 273, and the present writer in *BSOS.*, IV, 156). The European tribes probably learnt to use it, after the separation from the Aryans, on the northern shores of the Black Sea.

originally meant "salt" and especially "sea salt".¹ The word is first met with in Av. VII, 76, 1; and there is, of course, no reason for thinking it impossible that the -ṇ- could already at that time be due to "Prākritic" influences.² However in, consideration of the curious interchange between *śroṇa-* : *śloṇa-* and *śravāṇa-* : *ślavāṇa-* "lame, crippled" already in early texts³ I should feel inclined to suggest that *lavāṇa-* has really developed from an older form **ravāṇa-* of which there is now no trace.⁴

We find a cerebral ṇ in about the same position in the curious Pāli verb *oṇojeti* "to cause to wash off, to cleanse; to give as a present, to dedicate (with the rite of washing one's hands)", *oṇojana-* "washing one's hands". According to Kern⁵ this represents Skt. *ava-nejayati*, *ava-nejana-*; and although the suggested transposition of -e- into an -o- is extraordinary and unexplained there can be little doubt that this is really the correct explanation. In that case the cerebral -ṇ- is rather out of order. We also find a verb *oṇati* "to drag away", Dh. 13, 12 which, according to an old but still valid explanation is really = Skt. *ava(apa)-nayati*.⁶ Even here we find the cerebral -ṇ- in a similar position; the same is the case in *oṇamati*, *oṇamana-*, *oṇata-* (inter-changing with *o-nam-* cf. Morris JPTS. 1887, 125).

(1) Compared with *saindhava-* "salt from the Salt Range" etc.

(2) No possible influence in the case of the cerebralisation can be ascribed to the neighbourhood of the l- sound; the form *anulepaṇa-* mentioned by Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194 is purely Prākritic.

(3) Cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 193.

(4) If this be so **ravāṇa-*, *lavāṇa-* is certainly a word which the Aryans picked up from some aboriginal stem in India. Certain Indo-European connections would perhaps suggest themselves, but they would certainly be far too hazy to be of any value whatsoever.

(5) Cf. Buddhism, p. 92; Toevoghselen II, 5. 138; also Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Müller, Pali Grammar p. 9.

(6) Cf. Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 169; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194.

It is rather apparent that in all these cases the cerebral -ṇ- comes immediately after an -o-vowel.¹ The Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammar knows of no possible influence of such a vowel in the direction of a cerebralisation of a following ṇ, and it may be well doubted whether such an influence could really be traced. However, a cerebralised ṇ in such a position would be of very high age if the Rigvedic word **oṇi-** could also be brought under this head. The real meaning of this Vedic word seems to be far from clear;² according to the Nighaṇṭu 3, 30 the dual **oṇyau** means "heaven and earth", and Sāyaṇa, commenting on RV, X, 96, 12, interprets it as "finger", cf. the proper name **daśoṇi-**. Modern interpreters have tried, with no great success, still other possibilities.³ But whatever may be the original meaning of **oṇi-** I am firmly convinced that it is only a very early "Prakrit" form of **avani-**. Of this word there are three traditional meanings; according to Nighaṇṭu 1, 1 it is -**pr̥thivī**, "earth", according to 1, 13 -**nadī**, "stream, river", and according to 2, 5 -**aṅguli**, "finger". No doubt the first and last one are those ascribed by the native tradition to **oṇi-**; and it seems fairly obvious that even the old Indians interpreters may have had a vague idea of the identity of these two words.

(1) Still other such instances present themselves within the Sanskrit dictionary as e.g. **koṇa-** and **kaphoṇi-** (on which cf. Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan p. 88; Chatterji, Bengali Language I, 315). But for these words no plausible derivations suggest themselves—at least not to me—and I highly doubt whether they can be considered as real Sanskrit words. For **kaphoṇi-** (there also seems to be **kaphaṇi-** which is, however, doubtful) and the related Bengali and Iranian words a common original form can scarcely be found.

(2) A certain difficulty also seems to beset the Pali word **oṇi-** in **(oṇi-rakkha-**, cf. Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Kern, Toevoegselen II, 5.

(3) Cf. e.g. Baunack, Zeitschr. f. vgl.-Sprf. XXXV, 520 sq.; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm, I 191; O'denberg, RV. Noten I, 61. II, 311; Neisser, Z. Wb. des RV. I, 197 f.

(4) The TS.-variant **ūṇi-** seems to be of no importance.

6. P. rajassira-.

The Pāli word **rajassira-** is known to me only from the following six passages, five of which apply it as an epithet to ascetics or brahmins: **Suttanipāta** v. 980:

ugghaṭṭapādo tasito paṅkadanto rajassiro |

"foot-sore, thirsty, with dirty teeth, covered with dust" (in the description of a wandering Brahmin); there is no commentary on the word here.

Jātaka IV, 184, 10 sq:

diḡhuttaroṭṭhā jaṭilā paṅkadantā rajassirā |

inaṃ vodāya¹ gacchanti tadā Kaṇho pamokkhati||

"When ascetics with long moustaches, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, and covered with dust will live by usury² then will (the dog) **Kṛṣṇa** be let loose". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 362, 25 sq.

parūḷhakacchanakhalomā paṅkadantā rajassirā |

okinṇā rajareṇūhi yācakā vicaranti te||

"with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust, sprinkled with dirt and dust these (false Brahmins) run round like beggars." No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 371, 19 sq.

isiṇ ca dāni pucchāmi kiṣaṃ dhamanisanthataṃ |

parūḷhakacchanakhalomaṃ paṅkadantaṃ rajassiraṃ||

"Now I ask the lean ascetic with veins showing, the one with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 476, 23:

cirassaṃ vata passīma brāhmaṇaṃ devavaṇṇinaṃ |

mahājaṭaṃ bhāradharaṃ paṃkadaṇṭaṃ rajassiraṃ||

(1) There is a v. l. **codāya** which would give a better sense (or rather would alone make the passage intelligible); but I do not see my way for explaining a form like ***codāya**.

(2) Such ought to be the interpretation according to the commentary.

"At last we get sight of the Brahmin of godly hue, with long braid, carrying his load, with dirty teeth, covered with dust". No commentary on *rajassira*.

Finally we find it in another connection in *Jātaka* IV, 398, 14:

upaniyati jivitaṃ appamāyu
jārūpanitassa na santi tāṇā |
kārohi pañcāla mam'eta vākyaṃ
mā kāsi kammāni rajassirāni||

"Life, of short duration, draws towards its end, there is no safeguarding for one who has reached old age. O King of Pañcāla, act now (etc.) according to my word, fulfil no sinful actions". Commentary: *rajassiranīti kilesarajena okiṇṇasīsāni*.

This commentatorial passage thus seems to derive *rajassira-* from *rajas-* "dust" and *sira(s)-* "head"; and such an opinion seems to have won the applause of modern scholars, cf. Kern, *Toevoegselen* II, p. 46 and *PTS Pāli Dict.* s. v.

There is in Sanskrit literature at least one passage known to me which might make us feel uncertain concerning such an explanation. In the *Suparṇādhya* 8,5 we read the following verse:

rajasvalo jaṭilaḥ paṅkadanta unnītaśikho vadati satyam
eva |
amītramadhye na bibhēti mṛtyoḥ sa brāhmaṇas taṃ sma
mā han garutman||

(1) This *eta* the commentary explains as *-etaṃ*. As far as I understand it is rather = *etta* "here" which is again = *etra* in *Shālbāzgarhi* VI, 15 and is derived from **itra* = av. *iura*, cf. Lassen, *Institutiones*, p. 129; Brugmann, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. sprf.* XXVII, 198 sq; Johansson, *Shālbāzgarhi* I, 19 sq. Here also belongs *ettha* "here, now" (with the same aspiration as in *tattha* etc.). On other explanations of this word cf. *Kaccāyana* II, 4, 23; Hemacandra, I, 57; III, 83; Fausbøll, *Dhammapada* p. 350; Childers s. v.; Kuhn, *Beiträge* p. 21; S. Goldschmidt, *Prākṛitica* pp. 6. 21 ff.; ZDMG. XXXVII, 457 sq.; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. XXXI n. 2; II, p. 88; Pkt. Gr. p. 89 sq.

"Covered with dust, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, with raised top-knot¹ he speaks the truth only; even in the middle of his foemen he fears not death—he is a Brahmin, kill him not, O Garutmant²".

The word **rajasvala-**, which we meet with here, is found in other passages too in the sense of "covered with dust"; thus in the passages MBh VII, 1454 and 8896 (of warriors vanquished in battle) and IX, 1370 (of elephants fleeing before the onslaught of Bhīma). It is further found in the sense of "filled with **rajas**, with passion, sinful", a sense which tallies completely with that of **rajassira-** in Jātaka IV, 393, 14 (**kammāni rajassirāni**). As is well-known **rajasvala-** (in its feminine form) also means "a woman having her menses"³ with which sense we are not concerned here. The formation of the word is prescribed by Pāṇini V, 2, 112 where the suffix **-vala-** (**-valac**) is applied to the words **rajas-**, **kṛṣi-**, **āsuti-** and **pariśad-**; to these examples Patañjali adds some other ones, viz. **bhrātrvala-**, **puttravala-** and **utsaṅgavala-**. In the next sūtra (V, 2, 113) Pāṇini himself mentions two more **-vala-** formations, viz. **dantāvala-** and **śikhāvala-**, but with the addition that they are only used **samjñāyām**⁴; in sūtra VI, 3, 118 he mentions the allongation of the vowel preceding **-vala-** which takes place (e.g. in **dantāvala-**) when the syllable is not by nature a long one⁵.

It cannot escape our attention that the Pāli word **rajassira-** in both its senses tallies very well with those of **rajasvala-**. And according to my humble opinion there can be no doubt that the

(1) On this word cf. my work *Die Suparṇasage*, p. 243 with n. 2.

(2) **rajas**. "dirt, impurity" has the sense of "menses" already in the Nirukta, 4, 19 where it is derived from the root **ra(ñ)j-**.

(3) Still other examples are found in Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, I, 261 where I miss **naḍvala-** and **śādvala-** mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2, 88.

(4) This allongation, however, does not seem to be de rigueur with Patañjali (cf. **puttravala-** etc.)

two words are in reality identical. That the suffix **-vala-** is only a variation, and generally a younger one, of **-vara-** is too well known to need any discussion here. It is therefore perhaps scarcely needed to derive a formation ***rajasvara-** from **rajasvala-**; they could both have existed by side of each other, nay, **rajasvala-** could even have arisen out of ***rajasvara-** through dissimilation. It has also been observed—e.g. by J. Schmidt, *Vocalismus II*, 211 sq.—that before an **r** the **a** does sometimes in Sanskrit (and Prākṛit) show a tendency of developing into an **i**; thus ***rajasvara-** could very well at a certain time and within a certain area have developed into ***rajasvira-**. And such a form would of course, within Pāli develop into the existing **rajassira-**.² Thus we should find the following line of development: ***rajasvara-** (= **rajasvala-**) > ***rajasvira-** > **rajassira-**.

7. Skt. **nistṛiṃśa-**.

The Sanskrit word **nistṛiṃśa-** according to Pāṇini V, 4, 73 and the commentaries must originally mean “more than, exceeding thirty”. It further means ‘a sword’ and also—chiefly according to lexicographers—‘cruel, merciless’.

That the word **nistṛiṃśa-** meaning “a sword” does really mean “exceeding thirty (**aṅgula**’s)” is clear from Siddh. Kaumudī on Pāṇini V, 4, 73, from Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakośa, II, 8, 90, and from the commentary on Kauṭilya I, p. 61, 3 ed. Jolly, and should not be doubted as is sometimes done in modern works.³

(1) Of this development I have collected several examples with which I hope to deal later on as I cannot, for want of space, do it here. I should only like to point out that in cases like **giri-** = Avest. **gari-** or **śiras-** = Avest. **sarah-** the Sanskrit vocalism is no doubt a secondary one.

(2) Cf. examples like **assa-** < **aśva-**; **parissajati** < **pariṣvajate** or **bhassara-** < **bhāsvara-**.

(3) Cf. e.g. PTS Pali Diet. s.v. **nettiṃsa**; to the passages quoted there might be added the following from the *Jātaka*: III, 338. VI, 153. 449.

What is wanted here is only to point to one or two passages from the *Jātaka*-book which definitely prove that this "etymology" is not any learned construction like so many modern ones. Thus in the well known tale of Prince Pañcāvudha and the ogre (*Jātaka* No. 55) we read in I, 273, 28: *tettimsamgulāyato khaggo lomesu yeva alliyi*; and in III, 338, 16 f., in the tale of a juggler, we find the following passage *eko pana puriso tettimsamgulam tikhiṇṇadhāraṃ asiratanam gilati*. These passages seem to prove that there existed a distinct sort of swords or rapiers the length of which exceeded thirty finger breadths.

Why the length of this special sort of sword — no doubt even the *nistrimsa* — should be given as thirty-three inches is not clear. It may rest on a tangible fact, it may also simply be due to the phonetic similarity between the Pali forms *nettimsa* and *tettimsa*.² In any case it seems established even through popular texts that the grammatical explanation of the word *nistrimsa* is the correct one

8. P. *Khajjopanaka*-.³

The word *khajjopanaka*-² (sometimes also written *khajjūpanaka*)⁴ means "a fire-fly" and occurs in several pass-

(1) Whether *nistrimsa* "cruel, merciless" (a meaning known also in Pāli, cf. *Jātaka* IV, 118, 24: *nettimso ti nikkarupo*) is really the same word as *nistrimsa* "a sword" is beyond my power of judgment.

(2) The origin and development of a form like *tettimsa* = *pkt. tētīssa* is, unfortunately, not clear. That they should be derived from *trayastrimsat* (cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* p. 312.) seems to me possible but not very probable. Anyhow, how would it be possible that the same explanation should hold good also for *p. tāvatimsa* and *AMg. tāvatīṣā, tāyattīṣā* as seems to be generally suggested? In general the development of the numeral for three in certain compounds seems to be open to doubt and objections (cf. my remarks in *JRAS.* 1926, p. 139 which I fully uphold in spite of the objections of Professor Turner, *BSOS.* IV. p. 363 sq.)

(3) The *PTS Pāli Dict.* s. v. wrongly gives *Khajjopākana*; also the quotations from *JPTS.* 1908, are formally wrong.

(4) Cf. *Trenckner, JPTS.* 1908, p. 133 n. 1. with an explanation which, according to my opinion, can scarcely be correct.

ages of the Pāli canon. Keeping only to some passages in the Jātakas we find in II 415, 14 sq. how the heretic teachers (aṇṇaṭṭhiyā) lost their glory by the entrance on the stage of the Buddha like fire-flies by the rise of the sun. In VI, 330, 6 sq. the king of Mithilā has the following dream in connection with the conception of the Bodhisattva:

rājaṅgaṇe catūsu kappesu cattāro aggikkhandhā mahāpākā-rappamāṇen' utthāya jalanti tesam majjhe khajjopanakappamāṇo aggi' utthahitvā tamkhaṇe yeva cattāro aggikkhandhe atikkam-itvā Brahmālokaṇaṇen' utthāya sakalacakkavālaṃ obhāsetvā tthito etc. And in VI, 441, 27 sq. the minister Devinda says of the foolish king: ayam rājā kiṃ karoti, agginhi sante khajjopanakam dhamati " what then is this king doing—in the presence of fire he blows at a fire-fly". Of the meaning of the word there can, consequently, be no doubt.

Nor is there any doubt that we have to start our explanation from a form *khajjopana- of which *ka- is only one of the usual -ka- formations. Now, in Sanskrit the name of the fire-fly is kha-dyota-; and it was only natural that Trenckner, in his extremely valuable Notes to the Milindapañha p. 59² should have tried to identify the Pāli and the Sanskrit word, ascribing to the neighbourhood of p (or) (u) the transition of t into p. However, such an explanation is scarcely possible as no clear case of a development t > p seems to be known.³ And I thus venture to think that we must give up the direct identification of khadyota- with *khajjopana-.

(1) With this expression cf. the aṅgārah khadyotamātraḥ of the Chānd. Up. VI, 7,3.

(2) JPTS. 1908, p. 109.

(3) It would perhaps be possible to suggest that kha-dyota (na)- had developed into *kha-dyo(y)a(na)- and this further into *kha-dyova(na)-. By a sharpening of the -v- this might finally have resulted in khajjopa-(na)-. But such a development seems to me too improbable to be taken into serious consideration.

(4) *khajjopana-, in such a case, should be = khadyotana- which is said to mean "sun" in Sanskrit.

It seems to me that **khajjopana-* could only be safely derived from a form **kha-dyopana-*. Now **dyopana-* would, of course, be intimately connected with a causative formation **dyopayati* of which Sanskrit, as far as my knowledge goes, does show no trace. It is, however, scarcely doubtful that such a formation might have originated in sheer mechanical imitation of really existing forms such as *knopayati*, *gopayati*, *ropayati* etc. And I should venture to find a real trace of a **dyopayati* in the AMg. forms *ujjovemāṇa-*, *ujjoventa-*, *ujjōviya-* which can scarcely be explained except from a causative stem **ud-dyopaya-*. Also the modern Indian languages seem to have preserved traces of such a formation. If then traces of a form **dyopayati* be found in the AMg. as well as in the modern vernaculars there can be no hesitation about deriving p. **khajjopana* from an original from **kha-dyopana*.

9. P. dussa.

In the *Sasajātaka*, in the story of the four wise and pious creatures we read the following verse spoken by the jackal (*Jātaka* III, 54, 1 sq):

dussa me khettpālassa rattibhattaṃ apābhattaṃ,
maṃsasūlā ca dve godhā ekaṃ ca dadhivārakaṃ,
idaṃ brāhmaṇa me atthi etaṃ bhutvā vane vasā 'ti.

"From yonder fieldwatchman I have taken away his supper: two spits of roast meat", a lizard, and a pot of curds. This, o Brahmin, is what I have—eat it, and live in the forest".

(1) The explanation of these forms given by Leumann, *Upapātikasūtra* p. 105 is undoubtedly wrong. Pischel on *Hc.* IV, 332; *Pkt. Gr.* § 246, although he does not mention any form **ud-dyopayati*, must apparently have been thinking of the same explanation that is given above.

(2) Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Pischel. I am at a loss to find out to what really amounts the explanation given by M. Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe* p. 337 (s.v. *jopāvṇep*). Could all the forms quoted there possibly be derived from *dyotana-*?

(3) Cf. Morris, *JPTS.* 1834, p. 91 whose translation of the word is, however, not necessary.

Here **dussa** is admittedly a *crux interpretatorum* and has at one time been fully discussed by Professor Andersen¹. His own idea seems to be that we should read, with the Singhalese manuscripts, not **dussa** but **dussam** which should again be Skt. **dūṣya**—“corruptible, easily to be spoiled”. However, of the two alternatives **dussa** is undoubtedly the *lectio difficilior* which ought if possible to be explained, not to be simply neglected. Besides it seems curious that he jackal should design the proffered supper as “corruptible”—which, by the way, scarcely applies to roast meat and curds².

The commentary has preserved a tradition according to which **dussa** does really mean **amussa**, and that tradition has been endorsed by such a great authority as Trenckner³. Henry⁴ even goes to the length of putting **amussa** into the text which cannot well be right.

Personally I venture to think that **dussa**, although it seems not to be met with elsewhere, is the correct form. Of the pronoun **adaḥ** we find in Pāli mainly a stem **amu-** (besides which **asu** in nom. sg. (m. f.),⁵ besides which there is the nom. acc. sg. n. **adum**.⁶ Now just as besides **amum** we have **amussa** it would be well possible that besides **adum** there once existed a rather fortuitous formation ***adussa** which in Sandhi could, of

(1) Cf. Pāli Reader II, p. 124.

(2) The translation “wrongfully” given by Francis and Neil Jātaka III, p. 16 is, as far as I understand, rather out of the question.

(3) Unfortunately, I am at a loss to find out where Trenckner has referred to the word—perhaps in his unpublished collections at Copenhagen.

(4) *Precis de grammaire Pāli* p. 94.

(5) Mainly the same conditions obtain in the Prākṛits, cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* §432.

(6) Whether this form is really identical with the particle **adu** I do not venture to decide.

course, easily develop into **dussa**. This I venture to think is the form of which we find a single trace in the Jātaka passage quoted above.

10. P. reruka-.

In Jātaka II, 230, 15 sq. a lady is represented as addressing her unfaithful husband with the following verse:—

tvam eva dāniṃ akara yaṃ kāmo vyapagamā tayi |
so 'yaṃ appaṭṭisandhiko kharā chinnaṃ va rerukaṇ ti||

Here everything seems clear except the last pāda which is thus explained in the commentary: **kharo vuccati kakaco rerukaṃ vuccati hatthidanto, yathā kakacehi chinno va hatthidanto appaṭṭisandhiko hoti na puna purimanayena alliyati** etc. The translation of the verse would consequently run something like this: "thou hast now so arranged it that my love to thee has vanished; no more can it be patched up, just as little as an elephant's tusk cut in twain by a saw."¹

The word **reruka-** = **hatthidanta-**, "elephant's tusk, ivory" is, as far as my very limited knowledge goes, only met with in this passage and seems to be of an entirely obscure origin.² An original form ***reru-**, of which this would be a derivation, is nowhere to be found, and even its formation seems rather obscure.

No doubt words exist, though few and far between, that would seem to betray the same morphological construction as the somewhat problematic ***reru-**. Of the two R̥gvedic forms **peru-** and **p̥eru-**, the meanings of which are not entirely clear, one is said to belong to **par-**, the other one to **pi-**,³ and to one or the

(1). Some offence might be taken at the use of the ablative **kharā** instead of the instrumental; but such cases, I believe, are not altogether strange to Pāli.

(2) The suggestion of the PTS. Pāli Dictionary "probably dialectical" does not help us much further.

(3) On the meaning and etymology of the words **peru-** and **p̥eru-** (which are often considered to be identical) one may consult e.g. Pischel, Ved. Stud. I, p. 81. sq.; Ludwig, Ueber Methode etc. p. 24; Hopkins, Amer. J. Phil. XIV, 31. 38; Baunack, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf. XXXV, 529 sq. 552, 557; Oldenberg, RV.-Noten I, 44 sq. II, 127.

other may belong the derivation **peruka-**, the name of a man in RV. VI, 63, 9. In III, 2, 159 Pāṇini mentions a **seru-** which should mean "binding, fettering" and be a derivation from the root **si-**. There is further the famous mountain-name **Meru-** which, as to its origin, is completely obscure¹. Other derivations in **-eru**, of which there seem to exist a few², are in the main wholly unclear to me and can throw no light on the history of **reru-**, **reruka-**.

There is, however, perhaps a way for shedding at least some light, faint as it may be, on the problematic **reru(ka)-**. There exists in Sanskrit the word **kareṇu-**, well-known since the time of the Great Epics—but probably not earlier—which means "an elephant" but in the overwhelming number of passages is of feminine gender and means "elephant-cow". This form also exists in Pāli (chiefly in the derivation **kareṇukā**) and in the Prākṛits where the AMg. and the Śaurasenī have preserved a form **kareṇu-** while **kareṇuyā** exists in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.*

(1) I cannot find with Professor Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder* pp. 16*, 182 that the suggestion of S. Goldschmidt *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf.* XXV, 610 sq. according to which **Meru** should belong to **smi-** is very plausible. On the contrary the existence of all the other forms of the name, viz. **Sumeru-**, **Neru-**, **Sineru-**, **Suneru-** etc., seem to me obviously to point in the direction of a foreign origin.

(2) Completely obscure are **maderu-** and **saueru-** in the puzzling hymn RV. X, 106, 6. 8 (cf. Bezenberger, *Beiträge* II, 269 sq.; Henry, *Mem. Soc. de Linguistique* XIV, 172. 174; Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* II, 329), also **a-tameru-** in VS. I, 23. **mitreru-**, according to Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* I, 174, seems to be a compound. For **himelu-** in Vārtt. 7 on Pāṇini V, 2, 122 one might suggest an original form ***himaryu-** (such is also the idea of Bezenberger l. c.) if there were sufficient reason for assuming such a formation. Whether **seruma (dīpa)** which, according to Jātaka III, 187, 20 (cf. 189, 23), was the former name of **Nāgadīpa** suggests the existence of a ***seru-** is probably wholly irrelevant as the word would in no case be of an Aryan origin.

(3) Cf. Fischel, *Pkt. Gr.* § 354.

Generally, however, the Pāli form is **kaṇeru-**, and this form is prescribed by the grammarians as being the one denoting the she-elephant also in the Prākṛits.¹ From the passages I have looked up, viz. Jātaka II, 342, 3. 7. 20. 25; 343, 16; IV, 49, 20 (where **B^d** have **kareṇu**); V, 39, 12; 50, 9; 416, 22; VI, 497, 1 it is quite obvious that **kaṇeru-** means "elephant-cow" and nothing else.² To me it seems fairly clear that the word **kareṇu-**, **kaṇeru-** originally meant nothing but "elephant-cow", and that its extension into the masculine gender is an innovation which is of no real importance for the original sense of the word.

Would it be too adventurous to suggest the **kareṇu-**, **kaṇeru-** is in reality a compound made up by the deteriorative particle **ka³**+ a word ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru-** meaning "an elephant's tusk". The compound would thus mean "having bad tusks" and would form a good epithet of a derisive nature applied to the elephant-cow. If so were the case I should venture to go a step further and suggest that this word ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru-** were in reality identical with that **reruka-** "elephant's tusk" of which the Jātaka passage quoted above has preserved a scanty remembrance. The assimilation of ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru** > ***reru** would present no insurmountable difficulties; and on the whole I should deem it probable that ***ṇeru-** (perhaps across forms like ***ḷeru-**, ***leru-**) would be the preferable form. This also tallies with my opinion that of the two forms **kaṇeru-** and **kareṇu-** the former is the more original one. For, it is easier to believe that **kaṇeru** by the influence of **karīṇi**, should have developed into **kareṇu-** than to think of another way of development.

(1) Cf. Pischel ad Hc. II, 116.

(2) It baffles me why the PTS Pāli Dict. should give it the meaning "a young elephant".

(3) On this and related particles cf. Wackernagel, *Altind Gramm.* II: 1. 82 sq.; Charpentier, *Monde Oriental* XVIII, 12 sq. etc.

If there really existed a word ***neru**->**reru(ka)**- meaning "elephant's tusk" it goes without saying that it is not of Aryan origin but belongs to one of the aboriginal languages of India¹. It may at some period or other have been superseded by the Aryan denominations of elephant's tusk which are, like **danta**-, **radā**- etc., of a rather pale and uninteresting nature.

11. P. Vyamha-

A Pāli word **vyamha**- (v. J. **byamha**-) is known to me from the following passages:

Vimānavatthu 35, 1:

phalika rajata hemajālacchannaṃ
vividhavicitrāphalam addasaṃ sūrammaṃ
vyamhaṃ sunimmitaṃ toraṇūpapannaṃ
rājakūpakinnaṃ idaṃ subhaṃ vimānaṃ.

The commentary² explains the word and also tries an etymology which is, of course, impossible: **viharitukāmā vasanti etthā ti vyamhaṃ bhavaṇaṃ**. The word consequently means something like "a mansion, a palace."

The other four passages are all from the **Jātaka**.³

In IV, 464, 26 the king of Benares visits the palace of the Nāga Campeyya:

sa rājā pāvisi vyamhaṃ Campeyyassa nivesanaṃ
ādiccavaṇṇupanibhaṃ kaṇṇasavijjupabhassaraṃ.

The commentary explains **vyamhaṃ** **ti alaṃkātenāgabhavaṇaṃ** which does not bring us much further.⁴ Further in V, 454, 1 sqq. we read the following verse:

(1) If such be the case even the **ka** in **kaneru**-, **kareṇu**- may not be the Aryan deteriorative **ka**- but something quite different. A scholar like M. Przyluski might suggest a solution; personally I am, unfortunately, wholly out of my waters here.

(2) **Paramatthadīpanī**, pt. IV (PTS Publ. 36), p. 160.

(3) Cf. Kern, *Toevoegselen* II. 134. The passage V, 454, 3 (cf. below) is misquoted both by Kern (as IV, 454) and by the PTS Pāli Diet. (as III, 454).

(4) The corresponding passage in the **Mahāvastu** (II, 186, 5 sq.) differs very much (cf. Charpentier, *Monde Oriental* III, 42) and gives no word that would correspond to **vyamha**.

'dībbakhiḍḍaratiyo na dullabhā
 cakkavatticaritañ ca mānuse
 sovappavyamhanilayā va acccharā
 ye caranti pamadāh' anatthikā

"Divine pleasures are not difficult to obtain, nor the state of Universal Emperor in a human existence, nor the heavenly-nymphs sojourning in golden palaces to those who live away from the lewd womanfolk." The commentary explains: *sovappavy-amhanilayā suvappamayavimānavāsinyo*.

In VI, 119, 9 sq. King Nimi accompanied by Mātali arrives at a crystal palace inhabited by fair Apsarases which is thus described:

pabhāsati idaṃ vyamaṃ phalikaṃ sunimmitaṃ
 nārivaragaṇākiṇṇaṃ kūtāgāravaroḍitaṃ
 upetaṃ annapānehi naccagītehi c'ūbhayaṃ.

The commentary simply gives: *vyamaṃ ti vimānam pāsādo ti vuttaṃ hoti*. Finally in VI, 251, 20 sq. the wise Nārada speaks thus to a king:

annaḥatthā ca te vyamaṃ ghoṣayantu pure tava:
 ko chāto ko ca tasito etc.

Where the commentary runs thus: *vyamaṃ ca pure ca rājanivesane ca nagare ca*. Of the sense which the commentators attributed to *vyamaṃ*- there can be no doubt: it means "palace, royal or heavenly abode".

I am far from sure that I can offer any explanation of this apparently old word which does not seem to occur in the later prose texts. If, however, a word *vyamhita-* does in some Jātaka passages stand for *vimhita-* = *vismita-* which undoubtedly seems to be the case, could not *vyamaṃ*- be = Skt. *veśman-*? This would undoubtedly develop into **vēmha-* or even **vimha-*;

(1) This I suppose must be the sense here cf. VI, 175, 13: *na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mānuse*.

(2) Cf. Kern, *Toevoegselen II*, 134.

(3) Cf. *sēmha* = *śleṣmau-* etc.

and the later form may perhaps, under circumstances unfortunately obscure to me, have further developed into **vyamha-**.

12. Skt. Potra-

According to Pāṇini III, 2, 183 and to later lexicographers a word **potra-** (which according to them is a derivative from **pū-**) means "a plough-share" and "a hog's snout". This word cannot, of course, be identical with another **potra-**, which occurs in the **R̥gveda** in the sense of "Soma-vessel used by the **potar**" or once (II, 1, 2) "the priestly function of the **potar**."

The etymological connections of a word **potra-** "a plough-share"—the sense of "a hog's snout" is probably originally identical with this one—do not seem to be quite clear. Leaving aside the derivation from the root **pū-** we might suggest a relation with the word **pavi-** which according to Nigh. 2, 20 means **vajra-** and in the Nir. 12, 30 is a synonym of **salya** "an arrow"; its other senses also seem to tally well with that of "plough-share". And this leads further to **pavīra-** (Nir. 12, 30) "a pointed weapon, a lance, a spear", **pavīrava-** "a thunderbolt", RV. I. 174, 4, and "provided with a metal edge (of a ploughshare)", TS. IV, 2, 5, 3, **paviravant-** (with about the same sense), and **pavīru-**, which probably means "a thunderbolt". It further seems to me that

(1) There seems to be still another word **potra-** which is partly explained by **vastra** and partly by **vajra**. Supposing the latter-explanation to be the correct one, it is, no doubt, identical with **potra-** "a plough-share". If, on the other hand, there exists a **potra-** = **vastra** this, I suppose, would be identical with **p. potthaka-** "cloth" (of various descriptions) and ultimately also with **pottha** in **Jāṭaka** II, 432, 16.

(2) Cf. also **kṣura-pavi-** in ŚBr. III, 2, 6, 9 (cf. Charpentier Die Suparnasage p. 161.)

(3) On possible Persian relations of these words cf. Korb, Někotoryja persidskija etimologiji (known to me only through Indogerm. Jahrbuch I, 74); the suggestion does not seem very convincing to me.

we must in some way or other connect these words with the Latin **putāre** the original sense of which seems to be "to cut";¹ the idea that the above-mentioned Indian words should in some way belong to Latin **pavire**, which has again been connected with **putāre**, is by the way a time-honoured one,² though **potra-** has so far not been mentioned in this connection.³

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(1) Cf. Bugge, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf.* XIX, 416; Walde, *Latein. etymol. Wb.*³ 627.

(2) Cf. *e. g.* Fick, *Vergl Wb.*³ 1, 677; Curtius, *Grundzüge der griech Etym.*³ p. 268.

(3) There seem to exist in Pāli two words **potthanī** 'a butcher's knife' and **potthanikā** 'a dagger'; but I dare not allow myself any judgement upon these somewhat doubtful words. No suggestion concerning them is made by Kern, *Toevoegselen*, II. 43.

UVAṬA AND MAHĪDHARA.

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Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have both written commentaries on the Śukla Yajurveda i. e., the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā in the Mādhyandina recension.

There are several discrepancies in their commentaries. Their mutual relationship and chronology are not clear. In the introductory stanza, Mahīdhara acknowledges his indebtedness to the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mādhava.* From this, one would conclude that Uvaṭa was earlier than Mahīdhara. But in commenting on YV. XXIV. 3. Uvaṭa remarks: महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । शुद्धवाक्यः शुभ्रवाक्यः etc. And the commentary of Uvaṭa on this stanza as well as on stanzas XXIV. 3—19; 21—40; XXV. 1—13 is identical with that of Mahīdhara. This tends to show that Uvaṭa is later than Mahīdhara and has borrowed the latter's commentary on several stanzas.

The express statements of the two commentators go to show that each is indebted to the other, that each has utilised the other's commentary. And the only conclusion which can possibly be drawn from this evidence is that the two writers were contemporaries. But such a conclusion is wrong as would be shown later on.

Further Uvaṭa is described as a son of Jaiyāṭa¹ in the

*प्रथमस्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं भार्य्यं विलोक्यौषट्माघवीर्यम् ।

बहुर्मनूनां विलिखामि चार्थं परापकाराय निजेषुणाय ॥

१. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यजैय्याट्यस्य सुतुना ।

वषट्प कृतं भार्य्यं पदवाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥

colophon at the end of Chapter XX but as a son of Vajraṭa³ in the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

The object of this paper is to examine these discrepancies and to remove them if possible.

There are several editions. It would be well to compare them in order to obviate the errors of a particular edition.

(a) The commentary of Uvaṭa ed. by Prabhudatta, son of Śrīghana'yāma, resident of Sirsakhedi. On p. 524, the following remark is found on XXIV. 3:—महीधरोकमर्थं विलिखामि । सुखवालः सुभूवातः etc. On p. 472^r. Jaiyāṭa is mentioned as the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 698.^r Vajraṭa is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa.

(b) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Paṇṣikara, Bombay 1912. On p. 1 Mahīdhara expresses his obligation to Uvaṭa but on p. 447 Uvaṭa says:—महोदरोकमर्थं विलिखामि etc. On p. 404 Jaiyāṭa is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 610, it is Vajraṭa.

(c) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Śrī Rāmasakalamiśra, 4 Vols. Benares 1912-15. On p. 10. Mahīdhara mentions Uvaṭa as his predecessor. On p. 1212 the following note is added by the editor:—

अत्र महीधरोकमर्थं विलिखामोति पाठ औदवटभाष्ये कस्मिंश्चिदादर्शे केतुश्चिद्विष्णुणां समुद्धृत इत्यनुमीयते परं तु सुम्बर्मुद्रितपुस्तके शोधकेन मूलभाष्य-
द्वय इडात् सन्निवेशेन इति वाराणसीस्य राजकोयसंस्कृतपाठशालीयौदवटभाष्य-
पुस्तकदर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवति । स च पाठो मया त्यक्तः । महीधरभाष्यस्यात्र
सर्वेन पुनस्तत्सन्निवेशस्याप्रयोजकत्वादिति सुधीर्मिर्निभात्तत्तीयमिति । इतः परं
बहुषु स्थलेषु औदवटभाष्यं भाष्यकृतं कृतमेव नास्तीति पूर्वोक्तौदवटभाष्यपुस्तक-
दर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवतीति बोध्यम् ।

२. आनन्दपुरवासनव्यवजटाक्षयस्य सन्नुम् ।

उदवटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥

The editor does not seem to be aware of Prabhudatta's edition described in *a*, as he merely refers to the Bombay edition. Here also on p. 1094 Jaiyāta is stated to be the father of Uvāta but on p. 1795 Vajrāta is given as the name of Uvāta's father.

All the three editions agree in mentioning Jaiyāta as the father of Uvāta at the end of Chapter XX and Vajrāta at the end of Chapter XL.

Two editions agree in making Uvāta indebted to Mahidhara but the third denies the indebtedness and states that Uvāta did not write any commentary on certain stanzas. But the third edition also has no claim to be regarded as critical for it perpetrates the discrepancy with regard to the name of Uvāta's father. Its evidence therefore cannot be accepted with reliability. In any case its statement that Uvāta left a few stanzas without any explanation is incorrect as will be shown later on.

It is therefore necessary to examine the commentaries critically.

Internal evidence shows that Mahidhara's commentary is not an independent exegesis but a mere amplification of the work of Uvāta.

That the commentary of Mahidhara is a mere amplification of Uvata is shown by the following example. Mahidhara lacks originality. He merely expands the remarks of Uvata.

XXV. 16. Uvata's commentary.

तान् पूर्वया तान्देवाण्पूर्वयाकृत्रिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा ।
निविच्छुद्ध्यो वागवचनः । इमहे आह्वयामो वयम् । तान्
कानित्यत आह । मगं मित्रमर्पितं दक्षमस्त्रिमच्युतसद्-
मवाप्तम् । दक्षस्यैतद्विशेषणम् । अयंमणं वरुणं सोममश्विनौ
च । यैः सहिता सरस्वती सुमगा नः अस्माकं मयः सुखं
करतु कर्गेतिविति ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

Words underlined in Uvatas' commentary are repeated by Mahidhara.

XXV. 16. Mahidhara's commentary.

पूर्वया प्राचीनया अकृत्रिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा वाचा
वेदरूपया वयं तान्प्रसिद्धान्देवान् इमहे आह्वयामः । निवि-
च्छुद्ध्यो वागवचकः । तान् कान् तन्नाह । मगं मित्रमर्पितं
देवभातरं दक्षं प्रजापतिमयंमणं वरुणं सोममश्विना अश्विनौ ।
अस्त्रिममिति भगादीनां विशेषणम् । न संघते ज्योतते
सोऽस्त्रित् तमच्युतसद्भावम् । किं च शोभनं मगं भाव्य
यस्याः सा सुमगा भजनीया सरस्वती भगादिसहिता
नोऽस्माकं मयः करतु सुखं करोतु ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

Words underlined constitute the additional explanation of the words of Uvata by Mahidhara.

Mahidhara goes to the extent of borrowing the quotations cited by Uvaṭa. A few examples are given here:—

- I. 1. (a) यो वृष्टादूर्ध्वतो जायते तस्मै तदाह इति श्रुतिः ।
 (b) ऊर्जं बलप्राणनयोः ।
 (c) यद्धो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म इति श्रुतिः ।
 (d) क्षिणद्मीति चोभयोः साकांक्षत्वात्समयामीति चोत्तर इति ।

All these quotations cited by Uvaṭa are borrowed by Mahidhara in writing the explanation of the self same stanza.

I. 2. धामानि त्रीणि भवन्ति स्थानानि नामानि जम्भानीति च quoted by Uvaṭa is borrowed by Mahidhara on III. 8.

Examples are numerous and need not be multiplied.

On many stanzas, Mahidhara merely reiterates the remarks of Uvaṭa, *e. g.*, XXII 24—33 Paṇāṅkara's ed. pp. 429—430:

- उ० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवताः ॥२४॥
 म० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवताः ॥२४॥
 उ० अद्भ्यः । जलदेवताः ॥२५॥
 म० अद्भ्यः । जलदेवताः ॥२५॥
 उ० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवताः ॥२६॥
 म० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवताः ॥२६॥
 उ० अग्नये । अग्न्यादयः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥
 म० अग्नये । अग्न्यादयः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥
 उ० नक्षत्रेभ्यः । नक्षत्रादयः काक्षाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२८॥
 म० नक्षत्रेभ्यः । नक्षत्रादयः काक्षाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२८॥
 P. 430:—उ० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्यादयो लोकाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२९॥
 म० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्यादयो लोकाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२९॥
 P. 430. XXII. 30—33.
 उ० असवे । अस्वादयश्च ॥३०॥
 म० असवे । अस्वादयश्च ॥३०॥
 उ० मधवे । मध्वादयो मासाधिष्ठातारः ॥३१॥

*See my Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 355—360,

३० मध्वे । मध्वाद्यो मासाविष्ठाताः ॥३१॥

३० वाजाय । वाजाद्योऽवाचीयाः ॥३२॥

म० वाजाय । वाजाद्योऽवाचीयाः ॥३२॥

३० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमपि प्रार्थनामन्त्रः ॥३३॥

म० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमपि प्रार्थनामन्त्रः ॥३३॥

The evidence of the Benares Ms. shows that the sentence **महीचरोकमथ विलिखामि** is not an authentic part of Uvaṭa's commentary. It also shows that Uvaṭa did not borrow Mahidhara's commentary as the same is not given in that Ms.

Mahidhara has himself clearly expressed his obligation to Uvaṭa, so it is clear that Uvaṭa is the earlier commentator and the former has utilised the work of the latter.

To attribute the sentence **महीचरोकमथ विलिखामि** to Uvaṭa and to print the former's commentary as the commentary of the latter is very misleading. It has actually misled at least one scholar. P. Bhagavaddatta B. A., Superintendent of the Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, consulted Paṇāśikara's edition. In the commentary attributed to Uvaṭa on XXV. 8. p. 460, Karka, the author of the commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra* is quoted. Bhagvaddatta accepted this commentary as genuine and assigned Karka to a period anterior to Uvaṭa on the authority of this quotation. As Karka himself quotes Harisvāmin, the latter was assigned to a still earlier period. This chronological chain, constructed by P. Bhagavaddatta is very weak indeed for the commentary ascribed to Uvaṭa is really that of Mahidhara. Karka is therefore not earlier than Uvaṭa but only earlier than Mahidhara. The dates assigned to Harisvāmin and Karka by P. Bhagavaddatta on the authority of this passage are wrong. It is surprising that P. Bhagavaddatta failed to notice the identity of the commentaries attributed to Uvaṭa and Mahidhara on this and several other stanzas,

although both of them are printed close to each other in the particular edition used by him.

The next point to be considered is Miśra's assertion that Uvaṭa did not write any commentary on the stanzas, mentioned above. It is true that Uvaṭa sometimes does not give a detailed explanation of easy stanzas and contents himself by stating that the stanza does not stand in need of any comment, *e.g.* on XI. 65 p. 204 he remarks: निगदव्याख्यातम्.

On XXII. 6. p. 423, he says:—अग्नये स्वाहेति श्रुजबो मन्त्राः

On XXII. 8. p. 424, he remarks:—यते स्वाहा एतीति यन तस्मै यते । स्पष्टमभ्यत् ॥८॥

But Uvaṭa does not ignore any stanza—except two—and leave it without any comment. Whenever he does not explain any stanza he makes some such remark as निगदव्याख्यातम् । श्रुजबो मन्त्राः । स्पष्टम् etc. Miśra's assertion therefore cannot be accepted.

Chapter XXIV gives a list of animals sacred to different deities with reference to the aśvamedha sacrifice. It is unnecessary to explain the stanzas in detail. But a general explanation is given by Uvaṭa. While commenting on XXIV. 2 he remarks:—

रोहित (YV. XXIV. 2)

इत्यादयः श्वेताऽप्रायव्याः श्वेताः सौर्याः (XXIV. 19) इत्येवमन्तः
इतरेषु यूपेषु रोहितादिषु ये गुणवचनाः शब्दास्ते गुणिनं पशुं लक्षयन्ति ।

Hence there was no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 3—XXIV. 19.

He remarks on XXIV. 20:—

असन्ताय अपिञ्जलात्मकयते (XXIV. 20) इत्यादयो विश्वेषां देवतां पृथतः (XXIV. 40) इत्येवमन्ता यूपान्तरेषु त्रयादश्च अयोदशादयोः पशव आत्मभ्यस्ते । Hence there could be no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 21—XXIV. 40 both inclusive.

He remarks on XXV. 1.

एवं द्रव्यदेवतमप्रसिद्धं यक्षपार्श्वदिभ्यो ऽवगन्तव्यमिति पृथिवीं त्वचेति याचन् । (पृथिवीं त्वच्चा XXV. 9) There was no further comment on the stanza XXV. 2—XXV. 9, both inclusive.

The question now remains of the stanzas XXV. 10—13.

XXV. 10. occurs as XIII. 4, where Uvaṭa has fully explained it.

XXV. 11. occurs as XXIII. 3, where it has been commented upon.

XXV. 12. occurs once only in YV. and has not been previously explained.

XXV. 13. occurs only once in YV. and has not been previously explained.

The Benares Ms. of Uvaṭa's commentary ed. by Mi ra gives the so-called explanation of Uvaṭa on these two stanzas. But a comparison with the commentary of Mahidhara shows that it is not genuine but merely an adaptation from Mahidhara. Evidently some later reader has tried to fill up the lacuna in Uvaṭa's Ms. But it is clear Uvaṭa's commentary on these two stanzas is not available.

FATHER OF UVAṬA.

The only support in favour of the colophon at the end of Chapter XX is furnished by Blumasena, a commentator of Mammaṭa's Kāvya Prakāśa. Uvaṭa is described as a younger brother of Mammaṭa and Kaiyaṭa and all three as sons of Jaiyaṭa. But the commentator does not mention the source of his information. His view however has not been accepted.

Uvaṭa has also written a commentary on the R̥gvedapṛātiśākhya. There are several Mss. of this commentary at the

University Sanskrit Library¹, Lahore. They all describe Uvaṭa as a son of Vajraṭa. The evidence of these Mss. supports the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

Further, there is an old Ms. of the commentary of Uvaṭa on the Yajurveda at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The Ms. is dated sam. 1464 = 1407 A. D. The date is genuine and is confirmed by the old method of writing. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX clearly mentions Vajraṭa as the father of Uvaṭa. The colophon at the end of Chapter XL in this Ms. also gives out Vajraṭa as the name of Uvaṭa's father². This is further supported by colophons of the Benares Ms. of Uvaṭa's Commentary on the White Yajurveda. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX is the following:—(sic.) इति श्री उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये विंशति(त)मोऽध्यायः । २० । संवत् १६३४ । मिति भाषणशुद्धि ४ गुरौ ।

The name of father of Uvaṭa is not mentioned yet Miśra has printed it wrongly in his edition.

The colophon at the end of Chapter X is the following:—
sic. उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये दशमोऽध्यायः ।

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्जाटस्य च सूनुना ।

मंत्रभाष्यमिदं क्लृप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥

At the end of Chapter XIII, the colophon is the following:—sic. इति उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः । १३ ।

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्जाटस्य च सूनुना ।

उवटेन कृतं भाष्यमुज्जयिन्वां स्थितेन तु ॥

From these colophons of the Benares and the Baroda Mss., it is clear that the name of Uvaṭa's father was Vajraṭa and not Jaiyāṭa. The occurrence of Jaiyāṭa in the colophon,

1. See Mss. Nos. 563, 3033, 2187.

2. See Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta p. 72, where both the colophons of this Ms. are copied.

at the end of Chapter XX in the extant editions of Uvaṭa's commentary is an error and should be corrected.

As Uvaṭa wrote at Avanti under the famous King Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), his time is the first half of the eleventh century A. D.

MAHĪDHARA.

There are at least three Mahīdharas:—

1. One is mentioned as a Mahāpaṇḍita-Srī Mahīdhara. His grandson Mahāpaṇḍita Hṛṣikeśaśarman figures as the recipient of two villages in a copper plate grant of Mahārājādhirāja Jayacandra Deva of Kanauj. The grant is dated Sam. 1232 = 1175 A. D.¹ This Mahīdhara can be safely assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A. D. *i. e.* about a hundred years later than Uvaṭa.

2. Another Mahīdhara is the commentator of the Śuklayajurveda. From the introductory stanza, it is clear that he is later than Uvaṭa and Mādhava. If Mādhava stands for Sāyaṇa, then he is later than the 14th cen. A.D.

There is another Mahīdhara, the author of Mantramahodadhi². I am inclined to identify the author of Mantramahodadhi with the commentator of the Yajurveda. The first verse of the introductory stanzas in both the works is almost identical.

Commentary of Mahīdhara has the verse:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं

The Mantramahodadhi gives the first two verses in the following way:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं शुद्धम् ।

In both cases, salutations are addressed in almost identical words to Lakshmi, Nṛhari, and the Lord of *ganas*

1. Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 73—74.

2. Ed. Calcutta 1892.

and in the same order. This shows the author of both stanzas to be one and the same person. The commentator is therefore to be identified with the author of Mantramahodadhi. A short description of the family is given by the author in the 25th Wave of the Mantra. Mahidhara was the son of Phanubhaṭṭa, grandson of Ratnākara, belonged to the Vatsa gotra. He left his own native place, migrated to Benares, was devoted to the God Narahari. He had a son named Kalyāṇa.*

3. The third Mahidhara is a scholar-scribe. He has composed and copied several Mss. His literary activity covers the period from Sam. 1630—1670 *i. e.* 1573—1617 A. D. Fortunately several Mss. copied in the hand of Mahidhara were acquired in 1928 by the Queen's Sanskrit College Library, Benares, from the descendants of Mahidhara himself.

I had an opportunity of examining them at Benares in January 1931. I give below a list of the Mss. acquired by the Benares Library and written by Mahidhara himself.

- (१) स्वरप्रक्रिया
- (२) नृसिंहपरिचर्यानुक्रमणी
- (३) षट्स्वरसामप्रकारः
- (४) नृसिंहपूर्वतापनीयोपनिषत्
- (४क) तापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

अद्विच्छन्नद्विजच्छन्नं वत्सगोत्रसमुद्भवः ।
 आसीद् रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वान् ख्यातो धरातले ॥१२१॥
 तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः फनूषट्ठाभिधोऽभवत् ।
 महोधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥१२२॥
 मित्रदेशं परित्यज्य गतो धाराणसीं पुरीम् ।
 सेवमानो नरहरिस्तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं ख्यधात् ॥१२३॥
 कल्याणामिधपुत्रेण तथान्यैर्द्विजसत्तमैः ।

- (४ख) तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका
 (५) वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यमूलम्
 (६) हेमचन्द्रविरचित-अनेकार्थसंग्रहः
 (७) गरुडपुराणप्रतिकरणम्
 (८) सांख्यकारिका with तत्त्वकौमुदी
 (९) मन्तराज—स्य दीपिका
 (१०) प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका by महिकिङ्करः
 (११) काव्यादर्शस्य टिप्पणी by भूमिदासः
 (१२) वैदिकीप्रक्रिया
 (१३) अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतम्
 (१४) कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्
 (१५) नीलोत्सर्गविधिः

Out of these, nos. 2, 10, and 11 are clearly stated to have been composed and the rest seem to have been copied by Mahīdhara.

A few passages from these Mss. are given here. Colophons in other Mss. are similar. It is not necessary to give all the colophons of all the Mss. A few samples should suffice. The following will give some indication of the general manner:—

१ नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयम्

इत्याथर्वणे तापनीये पंचमोपनिषत् ॥ इति नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयं ॥
 महीदासोलिखत्काश्यां सं १६३४ चैत्रव १३ रवौ ॥

२ तापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

इति श्री गोविंदभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिब्राजकाचार्यस्य
 श्रीशंकरभगवतः कृतावाथर्वणतापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्ये पंचमोपनिषत्समाप्ता ॥

महीदासेन क्रीतं काश्यां संवत् १६४० वर्षे स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरो प्रीयतां ॥

३ तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका

॥ इति नवमखंडः समाप्तः । इत्युत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद्दीपि ह्य समाप्ता ।
 श्री संवत् १६२७ वर्षे वैशाखशुद्धि ५ भौमे शुभमस्तु ॥ लेशवेन लेखितं ॥ श्रीः ॥
 श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः ॥

महोदासेन कीर्तं काश्यां संवत् १६४० वष स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरो प्रोक्ततां
श्रीनृसिंह

४ स्वरप्रक्रिया

॥ इति प्रसादः संपूर्णः ॥—श्रीनृसिंहो जयतितमां भक्तावकः)

श्रीमन्नागातपत्रद्विजकुलतिलकविहरत्नाकरस्य सूनुभूमितलेऽस्मिन् जयति
फनुबुधो रामचंद्रैकचेताः । तत्सूनुभूमिदः सोऽधिरिशनगरं स्नानजले आम्हवीये
स्वारीमेतां व्यलेखीस्वपठनकृतये प्रक्रियां विष्णुतुष्ट्यै ॥१॥ अगुणषष्टिमिते वर्षे पो-
षांत्याजदिने रवौ महोदासोऽलिखत्काश्यां प्रक्रियास्वरपूर्वि

५ वदिकी प्रक्रिया

स्वस्ति श्रीमति रवाग्निः षोडशमिते सहस्र्ये सिते बन्धेरन्ध्रमितस्य वासरइमी
श्रीवैदिकीं प्रक्रियां । श्रीधत्सर्षिसुगोत्रजः फनुसुतो नाम्ना महीकिंकरः श्री
विश्वेश्वरपत्तने समलिखल्लक्ष्मीपतेस्तुष्टये ॥ दुर्दिराज्य नमः ।

६ गरुडपुराणम्

इति गरुडपुराणे अष्टादशैकसहस्र्यां संहितायां उत्तरखंडे विष्णुताप्यसंवादे
प्रतकल्पो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥३६॥३०॥ श्रीमन्नुकेसरिणे नमः गुणनिगमरसस्मा-
संमिते हायने शोधवल्लमदनघस्त्रे फाल्गुने मासि काश्यां । इह गरुडपुराणप्रतखंडं
व्यलेखीन्मही.....माधवस्तेन तुष्ट्यात् ॥१॥ महोदासः पूर्णम्

७ पुराण

इति—पुराणे रुक्मिण्यै नारदप्रोक्तं अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतं संपूर्णम् ॥१६४६

आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि ।

No. ४७६ अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतम् ।

Fr. २ सः त् १६४६ आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि ।

No. १४२३ काव्यादर्शटीका

Beginning F. 1 :—गणेशं नृहरिं शेषं चार्णीं गिरिशमद्रिजाम्
प्रणम्य विल्लिलाभ्येतत्काव्यादर्शं सुटिप्पणम् ॥
तं बन्धे यस्य नखरैरुत्पलादपि कोमलैः ।
शिक्षितं हस्तवैत्येन्द्रवक्त्रःपाटनपाटवम् ॥

इति काव्यादर्शटीकायां दुःकरविभावो नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

अस्मिन्मन्त्रेणैव ऊर्जे शिवाहे कृतो (१) काश्यां भूमिदासो व्यलेखीत् ।
काश्यादर्शे भाष्यमेतद्बुधोक्तं स्वीयालोकायोपकाराय यस्मात् ।

१० No. ६२८ प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका

इति प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकायां समासप्रकरणम् । धीनरकेसरिमहागणपतिभ्यां
नमः । षड्विषड्वसुधामितवत्सरे सहस्रिमार्गसिते वसुधासरे ।

चिद्वरणं तु समासमयं मुदा निजकृते व्यलिखन्महिकिङ्करः ।

११ कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्

ॐ नमः श्रीमद्व्यलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय । भवानोशंकराभ्यां च ।

इति कात्यायनकृते प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः । समाप्तमिदं प्रातिशाख्यम् ।
स्वस्ति संवत् । भृगुणांगधरणीमितवर्षस्योर्जमासि धवले फणिघञ्जे । सौध-
पाठकृतये शिवपुर्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलिखन्महदासः ।

संवत् १६३१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुक्लपञ्चम्यां महीदासः काश्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलेखीत् ।

One thing remarkable in these Mss. is the manner in which the name Mahidhara is written.

Synonyms are used, *e. g.* Mahidāsa, Mahikinkara, Bhūmidāsa. The real and the original name Mahidhara found in the commentary on the Yajurveda is never used.

Salutations are everywhere to gods Nṛhari, Gaṇeśa, Narakesarī, Mahāgaṇapati, Lakshmi. Salutations of these Mss. bear a very close resemblance to the salutations of the commentary and the Mantramahodadhi.

Further in the Ms. of स्वरप्रक्रिया transcribed by himself, Mahidhara gives the information that he was the son of Phanu, grandson of Ratnākara.

He describes his grandfather as भीमभागातपत्रद्विजकुलतिलकः । It is identical with the remark of the Mantra:—

अहिच्छत्रद्विजकुलं etc. नागातपत्र is a synonym of अहिच्छत्र. From this identity of salutations and names of the family, it is clear that the scholar-scribe of these Mss. is

*See the colophon of Svaraprakriyā, above, p. 20.

to be identified with the author of the Mantramahodadhi and the commentator of the Śukla Yajurveda. His date can now be definitely settled as shown by these Mss. i. e. he is to be assigned to the later half of the 16th Cen. A. D. as the colophons of the Mss. cover the period Sam. 1630—1670, this being the period of his literary activity. All these Mss. were transcribed at Benares and we know from the Mantra that Mahīdhara left his own native place and migrated to Benares. This date is corroborated by the date of the Mantramahodadhi, composed in Sam. 1645=1588 A. D.*

*अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदबाणनृपैर्मिते ।

ज्येष्ठाष्टम्यां शिवस्याग्रे पूर्णो मन्त्रमहोदधिः ।

पञ्चचत्वारिंशदुत्तरषोडशशततमे विक्रमनृपाद्गते वर्षे ।

TATSAMA GY

by A. C. Woolner

(1) There are a few words in Hindi written with **jñ** but regularly pronounced with **gy**: for example **gyāu** 'knowledge' and derivatives from the same root such as **gyānī**, **gyāpak**, **āgyā**; **yagya** 'sacrifice' etc.

Similar forms are found in Panjabi and Bengali **Pb. giān** 'knowledge', **giānī** or **gayānī** 'learned', **āgiā** 'command'. For Bengali see S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 462. He records **gy**, **-ggy** and **gey**.

Pb. jagg, **B. O. jāg**, **Sindhi jagu** (quoted by Beames I. 302.) evidently come from a similar treatment of **yajña**.

The substitution of a vowel for **y** and the nasalisation of **y** may be ignored for the moment. It seems clear that these forms are based upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit **jñ** as **gy**, which is common to pandits in the North and East of India.

The **tadbhava** treatment of **jñ** is indicated by **H. nātā** 'kinship' (**jñātīva**) **Pb. nāttā**, **janeu** (**yajñopavīta**). **Pb. janeū**.

Rānī 'queen' may have been associated with **rāṇā** from **rājānaka**, but cf. **Romani rānī**.

(2) In Gujrat there is a pronunciation **gn** as in **gnān** 'knowledge' (Clair Tisdall records a *svarabhakti* variety of this; **ganān**.) **Tadbhava** forms are **janoi** (**yajñopavīta**) and **jān** 'knowledge. In the Marathi country there is the pronunciation of **jñ** as **dny**, as in the name **Dnyānoba**, while **tadbhava** treatment is seen in **nātē** 'kinship' (J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, p. 357.) **jānavē** (**yajñopavīta**) and perhaps in **rānī** 'queen'.

(There is also **j** in **paij** from **pratijnā**. J. Bloch, p. 139. Cf. Old H. **jaḥ** for **yajña**.)

(3) These varieties **gy**, **gn** and **dny** do not seem to be Prakritic. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, §276. gives the following treatments of **jñ**.

- (i) Regularly **jñ** becomes **ṇṇ** (or **ṇ**) e. g. **āṇā** from **ājñā**,
(ii) It becomes **nn** (**n**). AMg. **nāṇa** 'knowledge'. cf. H. **nātā**. **janeu**, M. **nātē**, **jānavē**.
(iii) In Māgadhi and Paisāci **jñ** becomes **ññ** (**ñ**). according to Hemacandra. **yañña** from **yajña**.
(iv) According to Hemacandra **jñ** also becomes **jj** in some words: **ajjā** from **ājñā**, **jāṇa** from **jñāna**.
cf. Mar. **paij** from **pratijñā**. Old H. **jaj** from **yajña**.

There was also the **svarabhakti** method: Pāli **rājini**. Old H. **rājinī**.

Three of these survive in Marathi and J. Bloch remarks (p. 139.) "ni dans l'histoire ancienne ni dans la répartition des dialectes modernes on ne trouve d'indication permettant de rendre compte de cette diversité."

It is clear that once the process of prakritic assimilation is complete as in the four treatments given above, there can be no phonetic reason for going on to **gy**, **gn** or **ḍny**.

In other words this variation in the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not due to the influence of the Prakrits or of modern Indian languages. Whence then can it come?

(4) If we are to form any idea as to how the diversity arose, we must determine a more ancient pronunciation of **jñ**.

If we assume this to have been **j+ñ** i. e. something like **ḍj+ñ**, we may be satisfied about the origin of **ḍny**.

If again **ḍj** is not a true palatal but comes forward nearer to an alveolar or dental **ḍj** or **dz**, then **(ḍj)n** or **(dz)n** would become by assimilation **nn** (**n**).

The survival of **j** in **paij** and **jaj** would show the other method of assimilation.

But we are no nearer to **gy** and **gn**.

(5) Now Sanskrit **j** is ultimately derived from a palatal stop **ḷ** or we may conveniently write **g'**.

Ś. K. Chatterji¹ tells us that the affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early M. I. A. period and that for some time the stop value and affricate value went on, side by side.

The present writer had long suspected that Old Indo-Aryan possessed true palatal stops not affricates.

Macdonell however thought the affricate pronunciation indicated by the Greek reproductions of Indian names made it likely that they were so pronounced in Vedic times. (Vedic Grammar, § 35. cf. Wackernagel, I. 119.) It is true that an affricate pronunciation of *j* in Iranian is required to account for the variation *z* in Avestan and *d* in Persian corresponding to Sanskrit *j*. (Cf. also Old Persian *xšnāsātiy* 'Let him recognise' and *adānā* 'he knew'. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux Perse, pp. 60 and 99.)

But in either case to whatever date the palatal stop *g'* survived in pandits' speech it is quite possible that it survived still longer in the complex *g'ñ*.

(6) Supposing we start with *g'ñ*, this might change in two or three different ways.

- (i) where and when the palatal *ñ* was no longer correctly pronounced *g'ñ* could be replaced by *gn*.
- (ii) Before that the assimilation of the nasal to the stop but leaving an offglide *y* would result in *gy*. Cf. the assimilation of *gn* to *gg*.
- (iii) When *g'* had been replaced by palatal *d'* and then made affricate *dz* or *dz*, the complex *g'ñ* could become *d'ñ* and then *dny*.

Or we may state the matter thus:—

Pandit speech.

g'ñ - *g'ny* - (*g*)*gy*-*gy*.

gn.

d'ñ - *dny*.

(1) Bengali Language. p. 245 ff.

Prakrit.

d'n - ãñ

ṇṇ

Later (ḍ) n } j or n.
(ḍz) n }

If that is so, the variation **gy, gn, dny** goes back to a variation in paṇḍits' speech caused by replacing **g'** by **d'**, to which standing by itself a sibilant was added instead of an off-glide resembling **y**.

(7) It may be asked whether there are any other instances where variations in the pronunciation of Sanskrit seem to be independent of ordinary prakritic changes.

One such instance may be the rendering of the cerebral **ṣ** by **kh**. Some paṇḍits say **upanikhad** for **upaṇiṣad**. (Cf. the form **Oupnekhat** of Anquetil Duperron from a Persian transcription) Hindi and Panjabi represent Sanskrit cerebral **ṣ** as **kh**. **bhākhā** for **bhāṣā**. On this see S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, p. 243. where he says "in certain forms of OIA. the [X] sound was actually the one employed for [ṣ], as we can infer from a mediaeval pronunciation of [ṣ] as [kh] which still obtains, -[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [X]". He then mentions Slavonic **snŭxa**, **synŭxŭ** = Skt. **śnuṣā**, **sūnuṣu** and the wellknown variation Pashto and Pakhto.

(8) If **ṣ** is a sibilant variant of **x** which survived dialectically in OIA. of Northern India and is still represented by Middle Indian and modern **kh**, we might expect to see the effect of this variation in the complex **kṣ**.

In an **x**-dialect this would be **kx**. Such may be the source of the tatsama pronunciation **khy** and the prakritic **kkh**.

In a sibilant dialect it would be **kṣ**, now the orthodox Sanskrit pronunciation. In this complex Prakrit has replaced **k** with a **t** sound.

kṣ.tṣ.tṣ.tṣ i.e. **cch**.

Efforts to account for the variation **kṣ** becomes **kkh** or **cch** on the basis of a distinction in Indo-Iranian have not been successful. (See Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar*, §§318-321. Geiger, *Pali Grammar*, §56. J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, §104.)

According to the view suggested above the variation depends on more or less of sibilant in OIA. and is parallel to the variation of **kh** and **ṣ** and at a little distance to that of **gy** and **dny**.

All three non-sibilant pronunciations are found in Northern India, though **gy** has extended into Bengal, and in the Prakrits forms with **kkh** and **cch** are considerably intermingled.

(9) It has to be realised however that these are not so much variations in local speech as variations in the habits of learned speech, which is much more conservative on one hand, while it has on the other hand a tendency to make a conscious effort to avoid vernacular errors, especially in periods when Sanskrit schools are flourishing. Consequently the exact form of a **semi-tatsama** will depend not merely on local phonetics, but also on the **pandits** and the degree of their influence at a particular period. This is illustrated by some of the modern forms of proper names *e.g.* **Krishan**, **Kishan Kisan** as opposed to **Kistna** and **tadbhava Kaṇha**.

From this point of view it would be of interest to reconstruct as far as possible the history of the pronunciation of **Sanskrit** in different parts of India.

YASNA XXXI

By Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala

The thirty-first chapter of the Yasna has been translated and annotated by Jackson under the title *A Hymn of Zoroaster*. Another translation of it is by Andreas and Wackernagel in the *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1911. A third one is that by Bartholomae. There have been others also much earlier, but these three mentioned here may be taken as the "latest". I have consulted all three and have here attempted to give my own version of this chapter basing my translation mainly upon what I conceive to be the main purpose of the Message of Zarathushtra. I give here merely the rendering, each verse followed by the translation *pāda* by *pāda*. In this place, however, it is not possible to indicate all my reasons for differing from these great predecessors of mine. My only object herein is to give a consistent and, as far as possible, as literal a rendering as I can. I have explained some points in the very short notes that follow each verse.

1. tā¹ vā² urvātā³ marəntō⁴
aguštā⁵ vacā⁶ sənghāmahi⁷ ;
aēibyō⁸ yōi⁹ urvātāiš¹⁰ drujō¹¹
Ašahyā¹² gaθō¹³ vīmarəncaitō¹⁴ ;
at¹⁵ -ci¹⁶ aēibyō¹⁷ vahištā¹⁸
yōi¹⁹ zarazdō²⁰ anhen²¹ Mazdāi²².

Translation •

Heeding⁴ these¹ two-Laws,² unto ye³ (O men)
do-we-proclaim⁷ the Message⁶ (so long) unheeded⁵ ;
for those⁸ who⁹ because-of-the-lures¹⁰ of Untruth¹¹
destroy¹⁴ the creation¹³ of Aša¹² ;
and¹⁵ for them,¹⁶ indeed,¹⁷ most-of-all¹⁸,
who¹⁹ are²⁰ heartily-devoted²¹ unto Mazdā²².

(4. Lit., "remembering". 6. Lit., "words". 10. Lit., "through the teaching (or laws)", originally ins. plu. 18. Lit., "best of all".)

The two Laws referred to here are the laws which ordain "long punishment for the follower of the False, and happiness for the follower of the Truth" mentioned in the last verse of the previous chapter of the Yasma (xxx. 11).

2. yezī¹ āiš² nōi³ urvānē⁴
 , advā⁵ aibi⁶ -dərəštā⁷ va⁸ yā⁹ .
 at¹⁰ vā¹⁰ vīspāng¹¹ ayōi¹² ;
 yaθā¹³ ratūm¹⁴ Ahurō¹⁵ vā¹⁶ dā
 Mazdā¹⁷ ayā¹⁸ āsyā¹⁹ ,
 yā²⁰ Ašāt²¹ hacā²² jvāmahi²³ .

Translation :

Since,¹ because-of-these² (lives, there is) not,³ while-choosing⁴
 the better⁵ path⁶ clear⁷ -in-sight⁸,
 therefore,⁹ to ye¹⁰ all¹¹ am-I-come¹²;

as¹³ Teacher¹⁴ appointed¹⁵ by Ahura¹⁶,
 the Creator¹⁷ (has sent me to stand) between these¹⁸
 parties-twain,¹⁹
 that²⁰ we-may-live²¹ in-harmony²² with Aša²³.

(4. Originally dat. inf. 13—16. Lit., "as Teacher Ahura knows". 21—22. Lit., "though Aša", i. e. devoted to Aša.)

I would like to point out that the arrangement of this verse is in two *Gāyatrīs*.

3. yām¹ dā² Mainyū³ Āθrā⁴ -cā,⁵
 Ašā⁶ -cā⁷ cōiš⁸ rānōi⁹ byā¹⁰ ō¹¹ ūtēm¹²,
 hyat¹³ urvatēm¹⁴ eazdō¹⁵ nhvadēbyō¹⁶;
 tat¹⁷ nā,¹⁸ Mazdā,¹⁹ vīdvanōi²⁰ vacā²¹ ,
 hizvā²² ōwahyā²³ ā²⁴ nhō²⁵,
 yā²⁶ jvanō²⁷ vīpāng²⁸ vaurayā²⁹.

Translation:

What¹ Thou bestowest² through-(Thy)-Spirit³ and⁴
 through-(Thy)-Fire⁵,

' and' the Bliss¹⁰ (attainable) through Aša⁶
 has-thou-promised⁸ to-both-parties⁸,
 (and) what¹¹ the Law¹¹ (is) for the discerning¹¹,
 that¹⁴ unto us¹⁵, O Mazdā¹⁶, declare¹⁸ for-(our)-enlightenment¹⁷,
 with words¹⁸ from-Thine-own¹⁰ mouth¹
 that¹¹ I-may-convert¹⁵ all¹⁴ the living¹¹.

(8. Lit., "Thou hast taught". 19. Lit., "tongue.")

4. yadā¹ Ašem² zəvīm³ anhen,⁴
 Mazdās⁵ -cā⁶ Ahurān⁷hō,⁸
 aši⁹ -cā¹⁰ Armaiti¹¹,
 Vahištā¹² iśasā¹³ Manan¹⁴hā¹⁵
 maibyō¹⁶ Xšaθrēm¹⁷ aojonghva¹⁸,¹⁹
 yehyā²⁰ varədā²¹ vanaēmā²² drujem.²³

(8. I read the final vowel of this word long on the strength of the restored Ur-text as given by Andreas. No other text, nor any ms. supports this reading.)

Translation:

When¹ Aša² is⁴ to-(our)-prayer-inclined⁸,
 (and Ye) Lords-of-Creation⁵ and⁶ Lords-of-Life,⁷
 together-with⁹ the Holy¹⁰ Armaiti,¹¹
 (then) through-the-Best¹² Mind¹³ shall-I-seek¹⁵
 for ourselves¹⁶ the strengthening¹⁷ Power,¹⁸
 through-whose¹⁹ increase²⁰ we-may overcome²¹ the Enemy²²
 (4. Originally plu. 14. Originally sing.)

5. ta¹ mōi² vīcidyāi³ vaocā⁴,
 hya⁵ mōi,⁶ Aša⁷, datā⁸ vahyō⁹;
 vīduyē,¹⁰ Vohū¹¹ Manan¹²hā,¹³ "
 mēn¹⁴ -cā¹⁵ daidyāi,¹⁶ yehyā¹⁷ -mā¹⁸ arəšiš;¹⁹ "
 tā²⁰ -ci²¹ Mazdā²² Ahurā²³, "
 yā nōi²⁴ vā²⁵ anhat²⁶ anhaiti²⁷ vā²⁸.

Translation:

That-I-may-decide,¹ declare⁴ unto me² this¹,
 what⁵ better⁹ (reward) on me⁶, O Aša⁷,
 shalt-Thou ~~offer~~

(declare), O Vohu¹¹ Manō,¹² that-I-may-know¹³,
 and¹⁴ grant¹⁵ to me¹⁶ (that), whereby¹⁷ Blessings¹⁸ to me¹⁹
 (may-accrue);
 all²⁰ these,²¹ O Mazdā²² Ahura,²³ (do Thou declare),
 whatever²⁴ there shall-be²⁵ or²⁶ shall-not²⁷ be²⁸.

(3 and 15 are both originally dative infinitives. 18. Originally sing. The last word of the verse, *vā*²⁸, has been omitted in the translation.)

6. ahmāi¹ anhat² vahistēm³,
 yē⁴ mōi⁵ vidvā⁶ vaocat⁷ haioim⁸
 mōrem⁹ yim¹⁰ Haurvatātō,¹¹
 Aṣahyā¹² Ameretātas¹³ -cā¹⁴;
 Mazdāi¹⁵ avat¹⁶ Xsaθrem¹⁷
 hyat¹⁸ hōi¹⁹ Vohū²⁰ vaxsat²¹ Mananahā²².

Translation:

Unto him¹ may the Best² befall³,
 who⁴, the Wise-One⁵, shall spread⁶ my⁷ Truth⁸
 the Word, which⁹ (giveth¹⁰ promise) of Perfection¹¹,
 (the Word) of Aṣa,¹² (giving promise) of Immortality¹³
 as well¹⁴;
 (unto him may) that¹⁵ Power¹⁶ of the Lord¹⁷ (accrue)
 which¹⁸ for him¹⁹ shall Good²⁰ Mind²¹ increase²².

(7. Lit., "shall tell". 15. Dat. used for gen.)

7. yas¹ -tā² mantā³ pouruyo⁴
 raocsbis⁵ rōiwen⁶ x⁷āorā⁸
 hvō⁹ Xraōwā¹⁰ dāmis¹¹ Aṣem¹²:
 yā¹³ drāvayat¹⁴ Vahistēm¹⁵ Manō¹⁶
 tā¹⁷, Mazdā¹⁸, Mainyū¹⁹ uxšyō²⁰,
 yē²¹ ā²² nūrām²³ -cit²⁴, Ahurā²⁵, hāmō²⁶.

Translation:

He,¹ (our) first² Father³, planned-out⁴
 the Realms of Light⁵ refulgent⁶ with-(His)-Glory⁷,
 Himself⁸ in-(His)-Wisdom⁹ the Creator¹⁰ of Aṣa;
 (that) by which¹¹ the Best¹² Mind¹³ is upheld¹⁴,

through that¹⁴, O Mazdā¹⁵, increase¹⁶ (Thy)-Spirit¹⁷

(amongst us);

O Ahura¹⁸, even¹⁹ upto²⁰ now²¹ Thou²² (art) the same²³.

(1. Lit., "who". 3. Lit., "thought". 6. Lit., "mixed with", "clothed in". 13. Lit., "He upholds" (active verb). 20. Lit., "who".)

8. yaŋ¹ ōwā² mānghī³ pourvīm⁴,

Mazdā⁵, yazūm⁶ stōi⁷ mananhā⁸,

Vanhəus⁹ patarəm¹⁰ Mananhō¹¹;

hyaŋ¹² ōwā¹³ (həm)¹⁴ cašmainə¹⁵ hēngrabəm¹⁶,

haiōim¹⁷ Ašahyā¹⁸ dəmīm¹⁹,

anhəuš²⁰ ahurəm²¹ šyaoθanaəsū²².

(1. Geld. and others read aŋ: Geld. notes that only one ms reads yaŋ. 6. Geld., Kan., Jack. and Mills read yezūm. I have accepted the reading of Wester. and Barth. Andreas has yozūm. Geld. mentions the reading adopted here on p. 111 of the Yasna as also in his Prolegomena (xxvii). He also mentions the readings yazəm and yüzəm.)

Translation:

That¹ I-may-recognise² Thee³ (as) the Oldest⁴

in-(my)-mind⁵, O Mazdā⁶, (as also) being⁷ the Youngest⁸,

(and as) the Father¹⁰ of Vohu⁹ Manō¹¹;

that¹² I-may-apprehend^{14,15} Thee¹³ in-(mine)-eye¹⁶

(as) the true¹⁷ Creator¹⁸ of Aša¹⁹,

(and) Lord²⁰ Supreme²¹ over-actions in-(this)-world²².

(4. Lit., "First". 8. Originally ins. sing. 16. The hən- is clearly tautological. 20. Originally gen. sing.)

9. ōwōi¹ as² Armaitiš³,

ōwōi⁴ ā⁵ gəuš⁶ -tašā⁷ as⁸ xratuš⁹,

Manyəuš¹⁰, Mazdā¹¹ Ahurā¹²;

hyaŋ¹³ ašyāi¹⁴ dadg¹⁵ paθəm¹⁶,

vāstryāi¹⁷ vā¹⁸ āitə¹⁹,

yə²⁰ vā²¹ nōit²² aŋhaŋ²³ vāstryō²⁴.

(6—7. I have ventured to join these two words as a compound.)

Translation:

Thine¹, has-been² Armaiti³,
 Thine⁴, too⁵, has-been⁶ the Wisdom⁹ World⁴-creating⁷,
 (the Wisdom) of the Spirit¹⁰, O Mazdā¹¹ Ahurā¹²;
 then¹³ Thou-hast-granted¹⁴ unto her¹⁵ the choice¹⁶
 either¹⁷ to come-away¹⁸ from-(her)-Protector¹⁹,
 or²⁰ (from him) who²¹ never²² was²³ (her) Protector⁴.
 (14. Namely, Mother-Earth, implied in the word gəuš.
 16. Lit., "path".)

10. aī¹ hī² ayā³ fravarētā⁴

vāstrim⁵ axyāi⁶ fšuyantēm⁷,
 ahurēm⁸ ašavanēm⁹,
 Vanhəuš¹⁰ fšənghīm¹¹ Manaṇhō¹²;
 nōiī¹³ Mazdā¹⁴ avāstryō¹⁵
 davəš¹⁶ -cinā¹⁷ humərətōiš¹⁸ baχštā¹⁹.

(2. V. l. hē. 16. V. l. daēvās-, daēvās-.)

Translation:

So¹ she² chose⁴ out-of-these-two³
 (as) Protector⁵ (and as) Shepherd⁷ for herself⁶
 a Lord⁸ possessing-Aša⁹,
 a promoter¹¹ of Good¹⁰ Thought¹²;
 never¹³, O Mazdā¹⁴ (can) the Destroyer¹⁵
 even-though¹⁷ -he-strive¹⁶, partake¹⁹ of-the-blessed-Message¹⁸.
 (For the ideas of the first two pīdas compare Yas. xxix 6.
 10, 12. These words almost mean "Goodwill to mankind". 15.
 Lit., "non-protector" 16. Originally present participle. 18. The
 εὐ'αγγελίον.)

Verses 11 and 12 are closely connected together in thought, hence they are to be taken together.

11. hyaī¹ nē², Mazdā³, paourvīm⁴
 gaəθəš⁵ -cā⁶ tašō⁷ daənəš⁸ cā⁹,

əwā¹⁰ Mananhā¹¹ xratuš¹² cā¹³ :
 hyat¹⁴ astvantēm¹⁵ dadā¹⁶ uštanēm¹⁷,
 hyat¹⁸ šyaoθanā¹⁹ -cā¹⁰ sēhghē²⁰ -cā¹¹,
 yaθrā²³ varənēng²⁴ vašā²⁵ dāyetā²⁶.

12. aθrā¹ vācim² baraiti³
 miθah⁴ -vacā⁵ vā⁶ ərəs⁷ -vacā⁸ vā⁹,
 vīdvā¹⁰ vā¹¹ əvidvā¹² vā¹³ :
 ahyā¹⁴ zərədā¹⁵ -cā¹⁶ mananhā¹⁷ -cā¹⁸
 ānuš¹⁹ -haχš²⁰ Ārmaiti²¹ Mainyū²²
 pərəsāitē²³ yaθrā²⁴ maθā²⁵.

Translation:

- (11) Since¹ for² us, O Mazdā³, in-the-beginning⁴
 Thou-didst-create⁷ both⁶ Body⁵ as-well-as⁹ Spirit⁸
 and¹³ Mental-Power¹², (too,) through Thine own¹⁰
 Thought¹¹;
 since¹⁴ Thou-hast-created¹⁵ Life¹⁷ in-flesh-enmeshed,¹⁶
 since¹⁸ power-to act¹⁹ and²⁰ Words-to guide²¹
 (Thou hast bestowed)
 whereby²² one-may-hold²⁶ (what) Faith²⁴ he-will,²⁵
 (12) (so) here¹ (each) doth-lift-up² (his) voice³.
 whether⁴ false⁵ speaker⁶ or⁹ true⁷ -speaker⁸,
 whether¹¹ enlightened¹⁰ or¹² unenlightened:¹³
 (but) both¹⁶ to the Heart¹⁵ and¹⁸ to the Head¹⁷ of each,¹⁴
 to the spirit²², Armaiti²¹ standing-by¹⁹⁻²⁰
 appeals²³ whenever²⁴ (there is) doubt²⁵.

(Verse 11: 6. Lit., "(material) worlds", plu. 6. Lit., "and"
 8. Lit., "spiritual Egos", plu. 15. Lit., "made up of bones".
 19. Lit., "works", plu. 22. This -cā is omitted. 23 -26. The
 literal rendering of the last pāda of verse 11 is: "whereby"
 wishing²⁵ (they) may hold²⁶ (their) Faiths²⁴."

Verse 12: 1. I. e., in this world, 14. Lit., "of him". 15 and
 17. Both originally ins. sing. 22. Originally ins. sing. 23. Lit.,
 "confer with".)

13. yā¹ frasā² āvišyā³,
 yā⁴ vā⁵, Mazdā⁶, pərəsāitē⁷ tāyā⁸;
 vā⁹ vā¹⁰ kasanā¹¹ mananhā¹²

ā¹⁸ mazištām¹⁶ yamaite¹⁸ būjəm¹⁶;
 tā¹⁷ cašmāg¹⁸ ōwīrā¹⁸ hārō¹⁶
 aibi¹⁸ Aša¹⁸ vānahī¹⁸ vīspā¹⁶.

(8. So Andreas, others read tayā. 15. So Andreas, others read ayamaitē. 22. After this word all mss. and all scholars read another aibi. Geld. and others have clearly indicated that this second aibi is redundant. Andreas, therefore, omits it from his Urtext, and I have accepted his emendation.)

Translation:

When¹ (there is) an open¹ appeal¹,
 or⁵ when⁴, O Mazdā⁴, (she) appeals⁷ in secret⁸;
 and¹⁶ thus⁹ for a small¹¹ fault¹²
 (one) undertakes^{13,15} a great¹⁴ atonement¹⁴;
 this¹⁷, watching²⁰ through- (Thy) radiant¹⁹ Eye¹⁶,
 with Aša²², all²⁴ - (this) Thou close²¹ observest²⁴.

7. (Refers to Ārmaiti mentioned in the previous verse. 9-10. Lit., "or⁹ when¹⁰". 11—12. Both originally gen. sing. 14. Lit., "greatest").

14. tā¹ ōwā³ pōresā³, Ahurā⁴,
 yā⁵ -zī⁶ āiti⁷ jāghati⁸ -cā⁸,
 yā¹⁰ išudō¹¹ dadəntē¹²
 dāōrənām¹³ hēcā¹⁴ asāunō¹⁵,
 yās¹⁶ -cā¹⁷, Mazdā¹⁸, drəgvōdebyō¹⁹,
 yaōā²⁰ tā²¹ anhən²² hənkeretā²³ hyat²⁴.

Translation:

I ask⁵ Thee³, O Ahura⁴, of-those-(things)¹
 which⁵ have, indeed⁶, come⁷ and⁸ are-(yet)-to-come⁸;
 what¹⁰ accounts¹¹ are-to-be-adjusted¹²
 according-to (Thy)-record¹³ with¹⁴ the Righteous¹⁵,
 and¹⁷ what¹⁸, O Mazdā¹⁸, with the Unrighteous¹⁹;
 how²⁰ these²¹ do stand²² when²³ the-account is closed²⁴.

(10-12. Lit., "what¹⁰ dues¹¹ are fixed¹²". 13. Originally gen. sing. 15. Originally abl. sing. 19. Originally abl. plu. 22. Lit., "are").

15. peresā¹ avat² yā³ maēnis⁴,
 yē⁵ dregvaitē⁶ Xšaθrem⁷ hunāit⁸,
 duš⁹ šyaoθanāi¹⁰, Ahurā¹¹;
 yē¹² nōit¹³ jyōtūm¹⁴ hunar¹⁵ vīnastī¹⁶
 vāstryehyā¹⁷ aēnanhō¹⁸
 pasāuš¹⁹ vīrāt²⁰ cā²¹ adrujyantō²².

(4. Geld. reads mainis. 15. All read hunarē except Andreas, whose reading I have adopted.)

Translation:

I ask¹ this²:— what³ punishment⁴ (there is)
 (for him) who⁵ seeks-to-achieve⁶ power⁷ for the False-One⁸,
 for the Evil-Doer⁹ ¹⁰, O Ahura¹¹;
 who¹² finds¹³ no¹⁴ fulfilment¹⁵ of-(his)-life¹⁶
 but-in-separating¹⁷ the Shepherd¹⁸,
 the Loving-One¹⁹ from (his) flock²⁰ and²¹ from the men²².

(12. Le the False One. 14. Originally acc. inf., "in order to live". 15. Lit., "gain". 18. Lit., "driving away", originally abl. sing. 22. Lit., "not-inimical", this word (as well as 17) is originally gen. sing.)

16. peresā¹ avat² yaθā³ hvō⁴,
 yē⁵ hudānuš⁶ demānahyā⁷ xšaθrem⁸
 šōiθrahyā⁹ vā¹⁰ daxyāuš¹¹ vā¹²,
 Aša¹³ fradaθāi¹⁴ asperəzatā¹⁵,
 •ōwāvās¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,
 yadā¹⁹ hvō²⁰ anhat²¹ yā²² -syaoθanas²³ -cā²⁴.

Translation:

I ask¹ this² : how³ one⁴.

who⁵ (being) of good-understanding⁶, (Thy) Power⁷
 in-the-house⁸, or¹⁰ in the province⁹, or¹¹ in-the-land¹²,
 striveth¹³, through Aša¹⁴, to-advance¹⁵,
 at-what-time¹⁶ and¹⁷ acting¹⁸ -how¹⁹ shall such²⁰ become²¹,
 O Mazdā²² Ahura²³, merged-in-Thee²⁴?

(7, 9 and 11. All three originally gen. sing. 16-24. Owing to the exigencies of English style, I have had to transpose *pādas* 5 and 6.)

17. katārem¹ ašavā² vā³
 dregvā⁴ vā⁵ verənvaitē⁶ mazyō⁷,
 vīdvā⁸ vīdušē⁹ mraotū¹⁰;
 mā¹¹ əvidvā¹² aipī¹³ -dēbāvayat¹⁴:
 zdī¹⁵-nē¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,
 Vanhəus¹⁹ fradaχštā²⁰ Manan̄hō²¹.

Translation:

Which-of-the-two¹— whether² the Righteous³
 or⁵ the Unrighteous⁴— chooseth⁶ the better⁷,
 (that) let the Enlightened⁸ declare¹⁰ unto the wise⁹;
 let not¹¹ the Ignorant¹² lead-(us)-astray^{13,14}:
 be¹⁵ unto us¹⁶, O Mazdā¹⁷ Ahura¹⁸,
 the Revealer¹⁹ of Good²⁰ Mind²¹.

(7. Lit., "greater".)

18. mā¹ ciš² at³ vā⁴ dregvatō⁵
 māθrās⁶ -cā⁷ gūstā⁸ sāsnaš⁹ -cā¹⁰;
 ā¹¹ zī¹² demānəm¹³ vīsem¹⁴ vā¹⁵
 šoiθrəm¹⁶ vā¹⁷ daχyūm¹⁸ vā¹⁹ ādāt²⁰
 dušitā²¹ -cā²² marakaē²³ -cā²⁴,
 aθā²⁵ iš²⁶ sāzdūm²⁷ snaiθišā²⁸.

(11-12. Barth. and Andreas read the words separate, Geld. puts together as one.)

Translation:

And³ let not¹ any² of you⁴ unto the False-One⁵
 and⁷ unto (his)-words⁶ and¹⁰ unto (his)-teachings⁹ give-ear⁸;
 for¹¹ the house¹³ and¹⁵ the village¹⁴
 and¹⁷ the province¹⁶ and¹⁹ the country¹⁸ doth-he-hurl^{11,20}
 into the place of torment²¹, even²⁴ into annihilation²³;
 so²⁵ resist²⁷ these²⁶ with (your)-(holy) weapons²⁸.

(5. Originally gen. sing. 15, 17 and 19. Lit., "or". 20. Lit., "unite with. 22. The *cā* is omitted. 24. Lit., "and".)

19. gūštā¹ yā¹ mantā¹ Ašəm¹,
 ahūm⁵ -biš⁶ vīdvā⁷, Ahurā⁸,
 ərəzuχδāi⁹ vacanḥām¹⁰
 xšayamnō¹¹ hizvō¹¹ -vasō¹³;
 owā¹⁴ Aōrā¹⁵ suχrā¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷,
 vaṇhāu¹⁸ vīdātā¹⁹ rānayā²⁰.

Translation:

Who² giveth-ear-unto¹ (and) realises³ Aša,⁴
 the⁵ soul-healing⁶ Lord-of-Wisdom,⁷ O Ahura,⁸
 (he,) tongue¹² -well-controlled,¹³ (is) capable¹¹
 of-proving-the-truth⁹ of-(his)-words:¹⁰
 through Thy¹⁴ radiant¹⁶ Fire,¹⁵ O Mazdā¹⁷
 the rewards¹⁸ of-both-parties²⁰ do-(Ye)-assign.¹⁹

(3. Lit., "thought over" (and grasped). 9. Originally dat., "for the truthful word". 19. The "Ye" refers to Ahura Mazdā and the "Holy Immortals". In order to avoid an awkward sentence I have transposed pādas 3 and 4.)

20. yā¹ āyat² asavanəm,³
 divannəm⁴ hōi⁵ aparəm⁶ xšayō,⁷
 darəgəm⁸ āyu⁹ tomanhō¹⁰
 dus¹¹ -χ¹²ārem¹² avaētās¹³ vacō;¹¹
 tēm¹⁵ vā¹⁶ ahum¹⁷ drəgvantō¹⁸
 syaoθanāis¹⁹ χ²⁰āiš²⁰ daēnā²¹ māsaš.²²

(7. Geld., Jack. and Barth. read xsyō; I have accepted the reading of Kanga, Mills and Andreas. 16. Thus Geld., all others read vā.)

Translation:

(He) who¹ goeth-over² to the Righteous,³
 from him⁵ henceforth⁶ misery⁷ keeps-afar⁴
 (and) long⁸ ages⁹ of darkness¹⁰,
 (as also) bad¹¹ -nourishment¹² (and) woeful¹³ -speech¹⁴;
 to such¹⁵ life¹⁷, indeed¹⁶, the followers of-the-False¹⁸
 by their-own²⁰ actions¹⁹ (their own) self²¹ doth-lead²².

(4. Originally pres. part. ātm. 9. Originally sing. 13-14. Lit., "woefulness of speech". 15. Lit., "this".)

21. Mazdā¹ dadāt² Ahurō³

Haurvatō⁴ Amərətātās⁵ cā⁶,

būrōis⁷ ā⁸ Aša⁹xyā¹⁰ -cā¹⁰

X¹¹āpaiθyā¹² Xšaθrahyā¹² sarō¹³,

Vanhəuš¹⁴ vazdvarə¹⁵ Mananθō¹⁶,

yā¹⁷ Hōi¹⁸ Mainyū¹⁹ šyaoθanāis²⁰ -cā²¹ -curvaθ²²

Translation:

Mazdā¹ Ahura² doth bestow³

Wholeness⁴ and⁵ Immortality⁶,

out-of⁷ (His) fulness⁸ (He bestows) Aša⁹ also¹⁰,

(and) through-His-Lordship¹¹ union¹² with-Power-Divine,¹²

(and) full-vigour¹⁵ of Good¹⁴ Mind¹⁶

(on him) who¹⁷ in Spirit¹⁸ and¹⁹ in act²⁰ (is) His¹⁸ friend²¹.

(4, 5, 9, 13 and 15. All are genetives "governed by dadāt
19. Originally gen. sing. 20. Originally ins. plu)

22. ciθrā¹ ī² hudāyghē³

yaθanā⁴ vaēdōmnāi⁵ Mananθā⁶,

Vohu⁷ hvō⁸ Xšaθrā⁹ Ašom¹⁰

vacaḡhā¹¹ šyaoθanā¹² -cā¹³ hapti¹⁴,

hvō¹⁵ Tōi¹⁶ Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,

vāzistō¹⁹ ayhaiti²⁰ astis.²¹

(2. V. l. ē.)

Translation:

Clear¹ (are) these² (teachings) to the Lord-of-Wisdom,³

likewise⁴ (to him) realising⁵ with(Good⁷) * Mind,⁶

such,⁸ with-(the-help-of)-Divine⁷ Power,⁹ Aša¹⁰

doth-promote¹⁴ with word¹¹ and¹³ deed,¹²

he indeed,¹⁵ O Mazdā¹⁷ Ahura,¹⁸ for Thee¹⁶

the most-helpful¹⁹ servant²¹ doth-decome.²²

(*This word has to be supplied from the 3rd pāda. 6. The implication is also "with his mind", hence also the word "mind" is not used again in pāda 4. 7. Lit., "good".)

THE PRAKRIT IN KUNDAMĀLĀ.

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INTRODUCTION

The **Kundamālā** was first published in 1923 by Messrs. Rāmākṛishna Kavi and Rāmanātha Śāstri in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series. The edition was based on four incomplete Mss., two from Mysore and the other two from Tanjore. The latter are wanting in the beginning and the former in the Prologue mention Dīnāga as the author of the work. The Tanjore Mss. however ascribe the work to Dhīranāga in the colophon. I do not propose to discuss directly the question of authorship and decide between them, but I am now concerned with the exhibition of the nature of the Prākṛit contained in the drama and the determination of the period to which the language can be assigned. I shall thus try to throw side light on the question of authorship.

I know some scholars urge that the character of the Prākṛit found in a drama cannot be accepted as a criterion for the determination of the age of composition of the work, for it depends more upon the place of origin of the Mss. rather than the age of the language. The Prākṛit in the dramas is also subject to a good deal of corruption at the hands of ignorant copyists. It is further greatly influenced by Sanskrit in which, rather than in Prākṛit, the writers were well versed. They depend more on the conventional rules of grammar rather than on tradition and thus the language of the dramas, to whichever age they may belong, assumes a uniformity of character and frustrates any attempt to use it as a test of age. These remarks, however true they may be, need not drive us into despair. The last applies equally well to every dead language, and particularly to Sanskrit which had been stereotyped long before Prākṛit was; and yet the linguistic test as applied to Sanskrit is generally accepted as a criterion for

determining the age of a work. There is an inner life in language behind the outer form of words which presents a new appearance from age to age; and the Prākṛit language is no exception to this rule. We can by discrimination eliminate local peculiarities and scribal mistakes to a high degree of certainty.

The **Kundamālā** is a drama in six Acts recounting the story of Sītā subsequent to her second exile from Ayodhyā. Sītā succumbs to a second ordeal and is reunited with Rāma to spend many a year of further happiness in his company. It is conventional to close a drama with a happy ending and hence the deviation from the **Rāmāyaṇa**. A distinguishing feature of this drama is that it includes the character of the Vidūṣaka, which does not generally appear in the Rāma Plays¹. The characters in the drama are few and those that speak Prākṛit are fewer still in number. The female characters, Sītā and Yajñavedi and Vedavatī, and the male characters, the Vidūṣaka and a tāpasa, are the only ones that employ Prākṛit; but the amount of Prākṛit in the drama is considerable. The whole of Act. II with a major part of Acts I, III and IV besides considerable portions of Acts V and VI are in Prākṛit. Unfortunately there are lacunae in the Prākṛit passages wherever they happen to be considerably long and the readings of many an other passage are corrupt². But the passages that are free from doubt are considerable enough to enable us to form an idea of the nature of the language. The uniformity of dialect is also a favourable circumstance; all the characters employ only one dialect, the Sauraseni.

The chief peculiarities of the Prākṛit dialect in the drama are the following: -mātra is represented by -matta although -metta occurs in a single phrase (§1). pūrva always appears as purva (§2) but in puruṣa the u remains unchanged. t is as frequently lost as it is voiced (§6) and punar always appears as uṇa (even

1. The **Adbhutadarpaṇa** which presents the same feature is also from South India.

2. The other edition printed at Lahore is little better.

after **anusvāra**) and only once as **pupa** (after **anusvāra**) (§6). **l** is frequently changed into cerebral **ḷ** (§11). **jñ** is always represented by **ṇṇ**, never by **ññ** (§16). **kṣ** always assumes the form **kkh** (§18). **ny** is always turned into **ṇṇ** (§20). **ry** is always changed into **yy** (§22). This last is not a sign of antiquity but only a local peculiarity. The Acc. pl. n. of stems in **-a** ends in **-āim** (§24) and the Loc. Sg. of stems in **-ā** in **-āe** and not **-āam** (§25). The Gen. Sg. of **ātman** is either **attāṇaassa** or **appāṇaassa** beside **attano** (§30). The Nom. pl. and Gen. Pl. of **aham** are **aṃhe** and **ahmāṇam** (§32). **tava** appears beside **tuha** (§33). The fem. of **bhavaṃ** is always **hodi** (§29). **diṣa** appears regularly instead of **dissa** (§46) and **kīsa** instead of **kissa** (§2); **kocci** never occurs (§36). **dr̥s** appears as **dams** always except once (§10), but **grah** appears as **gahṇa** (§44). The Inf. of **kṛ** is **kādum** (§53) and indecl. part. of **kṛ** and **gam** are **kadua** and **gadua**, although **gacchia** is once found (§52). **khu** (**khalu**) never appears as **hu** (earlier) or **kkhu** (later) (§55). **dāṇim** always appears with final **anusvāra** and **api** as **vi** (§55). **haddhī** (with long final vowel) is more frequent than **haddhi** (§55). The particle **āma**, which is frequent in **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa**, is strangely missing in the present drama. The above peculiarities show that the **Kundamālā** presents the normal **Prākṛit** of the later dramas. The following detailed exposition points to the conclusion that the **Prākṛit** in the present drama has passed the stage of transition and presents the settled form of the 6th or 7th century, stereotyped by the grammarians. As is to be expected of a drama discovered in South India, its language shows some of the peculiarities of South Indian orthography, the chief of which are the representation of **ry** by **yy** (§22) and of the doubling of a consonant by a small circle placed before it (§10) which is usually represented by the sign for **anusvāra**. I have drawn attention to these in their proper places in the following exposition.

PHONOLOGY—Vowels.

§ 1. **Changes of quality**.—Medially Skt. **r̥** is never represented by **a** except in the forms of the rt. **grah**. It is usually repre-

sented by i, but in the neighbourhood of labials, it appears as u. Thus hiaa (hrdaya) i. 18; ii. 13, 25, 26; diṭṭi (drṣṭi) i. 82, diṭṭhī, diṭṭhīm iii. 30 diṭṭho ii. 12 diṭṭhā v. 21 (probably all to be corrected into tṭh); ākidi (ākṛti) iv. 75, paḍikidi (pratikṛti) i. 82, kide (krte) ii. 19; also kidam (kṛtam) i. 82, kido (kṛtaḥ) ii. 13; nisamsattana (nṛsamsatva) ii. 43; diḍha (dṛḍha) vi. 59, ii. 39; paḍi (prakṛti) ii. 12; jaicchā (yadṛcchā) ii. 55.—utta (vṛtta) i. 6, 86, 108. iv. 79 vi. 129 and uttanta (vṛttānta) i. 48, ii. 6, 7, iv. 7 beside -vutta ii. 12, 42, iii. 1, iv. 2, 42, 68 v. 7 and vuttanta ii. 17, iv. 70, v. 25; ṇihuda (nibhṛta) iv. 75; pahudi (prabhṛti) i. 96, iv. 77 beside paḍi iv. 5 (probably to be corrected).—asadisa (asadrṣa) iii. 39, ḍisa (idrṣa) iv. 40, kiḍisa (kīdrṣa) ii. 17, iii. 30, 47, tāḍisa (tādrṣa) i. 80, ii. 42 tāsi (tādrṣi) i. 96 beside amhārisa (asmādrṣa) v. 13, ṛisa ii. 43, v. 19, 123, eḍārisa (etādrṣa) iv. 40, mārisi (mādrṣi) ii. 12, sāricca (sādrṣya); vāvuda (vyāpṛta) iv. 36.—Initial r is very rare: mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82, iv. 38, v. 25, vi. 90 and rāesi (rājarṣi) v. 25.

The change of a into i is found in diṇṇa (datta) iii. 27, v. 86 and baliṇṇa (balavat) iv. 16. It is not changed into i in sampakka (sampakva) iii. 1. It is changed into e in bharuvvehana (bhār-odvahana) beside bharuvvahana i. 12 (probably to be corrected) metta (mātra) i. 40, beside matta ii. 19, iii. 55, mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82 etc., and to o in sonti (santi) i. 64 (probably to be corrected.) adimuttu (atimuktā) iv. 79 beside muttākalāva (muktākalāpa) v. 7 may be due to Dravidian influence.

On the other hand i is changed into a in puḍavi (pṛthivī) ii. 12, puḍhavi v. 7, pahādae (prābhātike) iv. 79 and into u in dudia (dvitīya) ii. 3, iv. 74—u is changed into a in pāṇḍara (pāṇḍura) ii. 13 beside paṇḍura iv. 13. It never appears as i in purusa i. 88 ii. 12, iii. 30, v. 25, iv. 5, 38.

i for e is met with in parinda (narendra) v. 5 and pavisida (praveśita) iii. 30; ettiā i. 64 for itthiā (stri) may be a mistake.—u for o is found in Tiluttamā (Tilotamā) iv. 1, 3, 87 and in the analogous Siḷuttamā iv. 87. Also in maṇuhara.

(**manohara**) iv. 13 beside **maṇohara** iv. 75, **vandanuvvāra** (**vandanopacāra**) ii. 13, **pucciadi** (**procyate**) iv. 15 and **bharuvvahana** cited above.

The usual representation of **ai** and **au** are **e** and **o**; thus **Kekai** (**Kaikeyi**) i. 22, **ṇemisa** (**naimiśa**) ii. 7, iii. 1 and **Kosio** (**Kausikah**) iv. 74 **Somitti** (**Saumitriḥ**); but the following are noteworthy: **mumde** (**maugdhye**) ii. 42; **Vaidehi** ii. 13, iii. 50, v. 13 without change. **kūdūhala** i. 14 is from **kutūhala** and not from **kautūhala** as in the **chāyā**.

§ 2. **Changes of quantity**:—**ě** and **ō** are frequently met with: **bhuvanēkka** (**bhuvanaika**) vi. 93, **Umāmahēssarā** (**Umāmaheśvarau**) ii. 12, **ēthha** (**no chāyā**) i. 6 and many times, but **ēttā**, once (probably to be corrected), **ēvva** and **ēvvaṃ** (17 and 28 times) beside **eva** and **evaṃ** (twice each) **ēkkaṃ** v. 77 and **ēkkena** i. 64, **jētṭha** i. 76, ii. 3, v. 86; **Ayōjja** (**Ayodhyā**) i. 66, **jōgga** (**yogya**) iii. 27, iv. 52.

The other long vowels are also regularly shortened before conjunct consonants: **āsannūttamaya** (**āsannāstamaya**) i. 68, **pūvva** (**pūrva**) iv. 70 beside **apūvva** iv. 11 and **pūvva** may be due to mistake in copying or printing. **rūpa-** v. 21 for **rūpa** beside **rūva** iv. 1 and **rūpa** vi. 93 and **ṇivvāsīdum** (**nirvāsayitum**) i. 60 beside **ṇivvāsīdā** (**nirvāsītā**) i. 96, iii. 39 are to be similarly estimated. In **ācchāia** (**ācchādita**) ii. 13 and **āṇa-** (**ājña-**) i. 66, 84, 98, iv. 52, v. 21, 31, 119, vi. 115, the **ā** remains long. **paḍihāra** v. 21 is perhaps to be referred to **pratīhāra** and not to **pratihāra** as in the **chāyā**.

Shortening of unaccented vowels: **dakkhinapaha** (**dakṣiṇāpatha**) iv. 14, **taha** (**tathā**) always, **jaha** (**yathā**) i. 14 etc., (9 times) beside **jahā** ii. 42, **jabāhippāaṃ** (**yathābhiprāyam** v. 43, **alia** (**alika**) ii. 12, iv. 85, v. 13, **aḍavi-** (**aṭavi-**) iii. 1, **aṇuggahida** (**anugṛhita**) iv. 38, **ṇigahida** (**nigṛhita**) i. 40 and **gahida** ii. 50, iv. 3 beside **gahida** v. 49, **tapassini-** (**tapasvinī-**) ii. 5 (in verse), **dudia** (**dvitīya**) ii. 3, iv. 74, **patthāṇia** (**prārthanīyā**) ii. 12, **haddhi** (**hādhik**) vi. 80 beside **haddhi** i. 82, iv. 36, 40, always repeated except

once (iv. 36). **anpahā** (anyathā) iv. 91, **savvahā** (sarvathā) iv. 40, 68, v. 58 and **ahavā** (athavā) iii. 30, 55. iv. 40 are never shortened.

Compensatory lengthening: **kādum** (kartum) iii. 1, **tā** (tat) i. 12 etc., **kīsa-** (kiyat-) i. 12, **ṇīsāsa** (niḥśvāsa) ii. 34, iv. 16 beside **ṇissāsa** ii. 12, **-sīhāṇam** (simhānām) ii, 5 (in verse) beside **simhāsana** v. 5, 62, 64, **dīsa-** i. 82, iv. 38, 89, vi. 93; never **dissa**. **gaṭm** (gatim) ii. 12 beside **gaṃ** iii. 1, v. 15 may be a mistake. **bāhūjuaṇa** v. 7 **bāhujuaṇa** may be due to accent. As to **-ādo**, Abl. suffix, see below §24.

§ 3. **Loss of vowels**:—**api** regularly appears as **avi** at the beginning of the sentence and as **vi** elsewhere (6: 40). **idānīm** always appears without **i**: 11 times as **dāṇīm** and once as **dāni**, i. 82 (perhaps to be corrected), and once even at the beginning of the sentence (iii. 27). **iti** regularly loses its initial, appearing as **ti** after a consonant and as **tī** after a vowel, only once (iv. 14) after a consonant (probably to be corrected). **ṇam** (**nanu**) ii. 37, 47; **ṇu** is once (i. 48) rendered as **nanu** in the **chāyā**, perhaps wrongly (cf. §55)

§ 4. **Changes of syllables**:—**sotthiṇā** (**chāyā**: **sukhena**) i. 108 is perhaps connected with **svasti**; **donṇam** (**dvayoh**) v. 77.

aya into **e**: The affix **aya** alone is changed into **e** but not the product of **i** and **ana**: **adivāhemi** (**ativāhayāmi**) ii. 11 etc. **nāsā-demi** (**nāsādayāmi**) iii. 1, **daṃsedu** (**darśayatu**) iv. 1 etc. But **Rāmāṇa** (**Rāmāyaṇa**) ii. 5, **ṇaṇa** (**nayana**) ii. 13 etc. **saṇa** (**śayana**) i. 18 etc.

apa and **ava** into **o**: **apa** always appears as **ava** except in **osarissam** (**chāyā** wrongly **apasarāmi**) iv. 36, 38, 74. But **apacaya** iv. 5 **apasara-** iv. 19 **apakka-** iv. 74 are peculiar. They are perhaps mistakes. **ava** frequently appears as **o**, thus **odara** (**avatara**) i. 14, 6, v. 62, **ociṇomi** (**avaciṇomi**) iii. 27, **oaria** (**avatīrya**) iv. 1 but **ogāha** iii. 27. iv. 5 beside **avagāha** i. 14; also **avaṇāhayadi** iii. 30, **avaloaantī** iv. 17, **avamāṇidā** v. 104 and **avaṭṭhidā** v. 21.

§ 5. **Intrusion of vowels:**—**a:** **sakkaṇomi** (śaknōmi) iv. 40 **saa-?** (sva-) i. 64, 108, **parihariasi** (parihriyase) iv. 72.

i: **itthiā** (strī) i. 52, 88, ii. 12, iv. 5, 38: **ettiā** i. 64 is doubtful; **parisa** (sparśa) i. 14, ii. 12, iv. 68; **silāhā** (ślāghā) i. 78, ii. 29, **siṇṇha** (sneha) iv. 14 **siṇiddha** (snigdha) v. 5, 21.

u: **tuvara-** (tvara-) ii. 50, v. 1, **duve** (dvau) ii. 1, v. 21, **paduma** (padma) v. 5, **sumara-** (smara-) i. 62, 66, iii. 33, iv. 14, v. 11, 15, 27, 58.

Simple consonants.

§ 6. **Breathed consonants:**—Medially **k** and **c** are, as a rule, dropped but in compounds initial consonants of the latter member are sometimes retained; thus **Rāhava-ula** i. 66. vi. 90 beside **Rāhavakula** i. 82. Other exceptions are **Kekaie** (**Kaikeyyā**) i. 22, **Sākeda** (**Sāketa**) v. 64 and **parakeraa** ii. 26, iv. 64 beside **paraeraa** ii. 26, **kiṃ**, often beside **iṃ**, thrice. **ca** v. 27 (only once) after **anusvāra** beside **a** (fifteen times) after a vowel, (six times) after **anusvāra**. **ṭ** as is a rule voiced; exceptions are: **Cittaūṭa** (**Chitra-kūṭa**) iv. 14 and **piaa** (**piṭaka**) iii. 1. **t** is as frequently lost as it is voiced. Exceptions are: **tatappaūdi** (**tataḥ-**) iv. 5, **vaṇadevatā** i. 82 beside **vaṇadevadā** iv. 14, **sampāta** v. 1 beside **sampāda** i. 68, probably all to be corrected. **prati-** is always changed into **paḍi-**. **p** is either retained or changed into **v**. It is lost only in two words, **palāa** (**pralāpa**) ii. 12 and **piṇṇa** (**nipūṇa**) iv. 18. All the above consonants are never lost initially. Only **p** in **punar** is regularly lost. ..

§ 7. **Voiced consonants:**—Medially **g** and **j** are as a rule lost; exceptions are found only in compounds: **gūḍhagabbha** iv. 79, **piajāṇa** iv. 68 beside **pariaṇa** iv. 56. Other exceptions are **bhagavaī** iii. 27 beside **bhaavadī** i. 66, 103, **pavvajami** (**pravrajāmi**) i. 82 perhaps to be corrected into **pavvajāmi**. **bāhadhea** (**bhāgadheya**) i. 80 is perhaps by transfer of aspiration like **bahiniā** (**bhagini**) (**Śakuntalā** iv. 80). **ḍ** and **b** undergo no change. **ḍ** is rarely lost. **tāsiṇaṃ** (**tāḍṣānāṃ**) i. 96 beside **tādiso** (**tāḍṣaḥ**) i. 80, **pāava** ii. 11 beside **pādapa** ii. 13, **sāara** iv. 14 beside **sādara** ii. 12,

jaⁱ (yadi) i. 62, paam (padam) i. 108, roissam (rodiṣyāmi) iv. 16, vaana (vadana) v. 27, hiaa (hr̥daya) i. 18, 60, ii. 5, 13, iv. 18, v. 5 etc. **d** is changed to **r** through the influence of a following **ḥ** which passes into **i** (cf §1 above).

§ 8. **Breathed aspirates**:—Medial **kh** and **th** are regularly represented by **h**. Exceptions: mukhaa (mukhaka) iv. 19 and saṃgadhita (saṅgrathita) v. 25 are apparently corruptions. **th** is changed into **ḍh** in puḍhavī (pr̥thivī) v. 7; puḍavī ii. 12 is to be corrected accordingly or is due to Dravidian influence. **ch** remains unchanged. **ph** does not occur medially. **ṭh** occurs only in paḍanti (rt paṭh-) ii. 5 which is to be corrected into paḍhanti.

§ 9. **Voiced aspirates**:—Medial **gḥ** is, without exception, turned into **h**. **jḥ** does not occur medially. **ḍh** remains unchanged. **dh** and **bh** are often changed into **h**. The following forms are peculiar: paūdi (prabhṛti) iv. 5, bādu- (bhrāṭr-) i. 64, bāaṇa (bhājana) iii. 30 and sovagga (saubhāgya) v. 21 all due, perhaps, to Dravidian influence; Bhāiraī (Bhāgirathi) i. 12, 14, 108 beside Bhāirahī iii. 27 may be a mistake.

§ 10. **Nasals**:—**ṇ** and **ṅ** are regularly represented by **anusvāra**. Besides in a number of cases doubling is indicated by the **anusvāra** sign, which is due to Dravidian influence; thus ama- (ārya), several times, beside ayya i. 34 (only once), umḍisia (uddiṣya) ii. 28, uvamṇāsa (upanyāsa) v. 23, daṃsaṇa (darśana) ii. 5, 39, 46, 47. iii. 55, iv. 1, 36, 38, v. 21 beside dassaṇa iii. 30, ṇimṇāṇusa (nirmānuṣa) i. 82 and ṇimḍideṇa (nirmitena) iv. 1, maṇṇa (maṇya) iii. 30, mahantha (mahārtha) v. 25 probably a misprint for mahamḍha, Vaṇṇmī (Vālmiki) i. 82, ii. 2, 9, 10, 12, iv. 1, 5, v. 25 beside Vammī i. 108, v. 25, vi. 90, viṇḍhama (vibhrama) iv. 17 beside vibbḍhama v. 5. saḥaḍhamṇaārīṇī (sahadharmaacārīṇī) ii. 37, samuṇḍhinṇa (samudbhinna) ii. 42 beside samubbhinṇa iv. 68, saṇvabhā (sarvathā) iv. 40 beside savvabhā iv. 68, v. 58. In viṇḍmaya (vismaya) iv. 19 and aṇmi (asmi) i. 38 **anusvāra** stands for **h**.

The origin of this practice is due to Dravidian influence and the forms in Prakrit which show a double consonant or **anusvāra** followed by a single consonant optionally, as **giṃṭhi** or **giṭṭhi** (**grṣṭi**), **maṃjāra** or **majjāra** (**mārjāra**), **vaṃsa** or **vaassa** (**vayasya**) etc, might have lent support to it. **ṇ** suffers no change but **n** is systematically changed into **ṇ**. Where it is preserved, e.g. in **niravasesa** (**niravaseṣa**) i. 52, **Nemiṣa** (**Naimiṣa**) iii. 1, **na** iii. 55 beside **niravasesa** v. 15, **ṇemisa** iii. 1 etc. **ṇa** iii. 55 etc., it is evidently through a mistake. **m** undergoes no change.

§ 11. **Liquids**:—**r** is represented by **l** only in a single word; **calaṇa** (**carāṇa**) i. 12. **paḍiāra** ii. 40 does not represent **parihāra** (as in the **chāyā**) but only **pratikāra**. **l** is frequently changed into **ḷ** even in the beginning of words. **ḷadā** iii. 27, **ḷajjā** iii. 30, **Lava** vi. 65, **haḷā** iv. 1, 2, **saḷaḷoa** vi. 90, **Rāhavauḷa** vi. 90 and so on beside **ladā** iv. 2, **lajjā** ii. 12, **Lava** ii. 3, **halā** ii. 1, **saalaloa** vi. 93, **Rāhavauḷa** i. 66. This is evidently due to Dravidian influence.

§ 12. **Semivowels**:—Initial **y** is without exception turned into **j**. Medially it is frequently dropped but is preserved in a few words which, however, show forms without **y** elsewhere: **chāyā** i. 16, **piyasahī** iv. 1 **sahāya** iv. 14, **parihīyasi** v. 49, **vayassa** iv. 2, **Rāmāyaṇa** iv. 1 beside **chāā** ii. 11, **piasahī** ii. 1, **sahāa** iii. 1, **parihīyasi** v. 15, **vaassa** iv. 83, **Rāmāṇa** ii. 5. Only **Māyavai** iv. 14, **vimmaya** iv. 19 and **patthāvayanti** iv. 18 do not show forms without **y**. Medial **v** is generally retained but is dropped in the following words: **diasa** iii. 52, **diaha** iv. 74, besides **divahe** iv. 5; **pasaa** i. 48; **paḍiniutta** i. 86; **paṭṭa** iv. 79 beside **pavutta** iv. 2; **bhaadā** i. 96 beside **bhavanto** iv. 40; **mahākai-** v. 25.

§ 13. **Spirants**:—**ś** is retained in a few words which should be considered as a scribal mistake or as a case of pedantic spelling. **cittasuddhi** vi. 93, **Nemiṣa** iii. 1, **sandesa** i. 56 (i. 52), **soṇḍiā** ii. 12 beside **cārittasuddhi** vi. 90, **Nemisa** iii. 1, **sandiṣiadi** i. 58, **soṇḍiā** iii. 50. **s** is changed into **h** in **diaha** (**divasa**) iv. 74, 77 and **divaha** iv. 5. **divaa** iv. 5 is probably a mistake.

Aspirate:—As to **paṇḍāra** ii. 40 see above § 11. **neāṇam** (snehānām) ii. 12, and **acchāida** (atyāhita) iv. 4 are exceptional, probably due to Dravidian influence. Visarga. **duḥkha** iii. 30, 36, iv. 14 beside **dukka** i. 52, ii. 12 and **dukkha** i. 64 is due to the influence of Sanskrit.

Conjunct Consonants.

§ 14. **Gemination:**—**ekka** i. 64, v. 77, **bhuvanekka** vi. 93 beside **ea** iii. 19; **evva** i. 48 etc. and **evvam** i. 62 etc. beside **eva** i. 82 and **evam** iv. 18, 5, 6, 7; **vandaṇuvvaāro** (**vandanopacāra**) ii. 13, **sakkaṇomi** (**saknami**) iv. 40.

§ 15. **Combinations of mutes with mutes:**—Assimilation of the former to the latter is the rule. Peculiarities will be noticed. **mumde** (**maugdhye**) ii. 42 is probably 'to be corrected into **mumde**, where **anusvāra** indicates gemination.

§ 16. **Mutes with nasals:**—If the nasal is the first member it remains unchanged, but if it is the second, it is assimilated to the mute. **anni** (**agni**) i. 48. **jñ** is always represented by **ṇṇ** (and never by **ññ**), but when it follows **ā**, it appears as **ṇ. tm** in **ātman** appears 16 times as **tt** and 4 times as **pp. nt** never appears as **nd**, but in a single instance it is turned into **ṇṭ: siṃaṇṭaa** (**simanta**) i. 62.

§ 17. **Mutes with semivowels:**—It is always the semivowel that is assimilated to the mute, except in the case of **dv** in which the reverse is the case. **mandabhāa** (**mandbhāgya**) is found five times. **ty, dy** and **dhy** are palatalized: **cc, jj** and **jjh. atyanta** ii. 12 and **acanta** v. 21. beside **accanta** ii. 43 etc. are perhaps mistakes. **acchāida** (**atyāhita**) iv. 3, **pacchāgada** (**pratyāgata**) vi. 115 are exceptional. **dy** never=**yy**. In **ṇimdiadi** (**mindyate**) vi. 112 the dental is protected by the nasal. **vijjhādhara** (**vidyādhara**) is probably a mistake. **dv** is=**vv**, except in **diṇṇa** (**dvigṇa**) iv. 16, **dudia** (**dvitiya**) iv. 74 and other forms of **dvi-**. **Ayōjjā** (**Ayodhyā**) i. 66 is probably a printer's mistake. **py**=**vv** in **duvvinṇavva** (**durviṇṇapya**) v. 17. **ḍirgha** is always **ḍiha—rt** is represented by **tt: muhutta** (**muhūrta**) i. 16, iv. 5, **saṃkittana**.

(saṅkīrtana) i. 48, ii. 19; but in the forms of the rt. **vṛt-** (**vart-**) **ṭṭ** is also frequently found: **abhi-ṇiuttomi** (**nirvartayāmi**) i. 108 **ṇivvattidavva** (**ṇirvartayitavya**) ii. 37 **ṇivvattida** (**nirvartita**) iii. 27 but **ṇioavattī** (**ṇiyoagavartī**) vi. 112, **passaparivattīṇi** (**-parivartini**) iv. 10, **vaṭṭadi** (**vartete**) i. 12, vi. 63, **vaṭṭāmi** (**varte**, **chāyā** wrong) iii. 52, **vaṭṭamāṇo** (**vartamāṇaḥ**) iv. 5, **aṇuvattissadi** (**anuvartisyate**) iv. 3—**rth** appears as **tth**: **edāvatttham etadartham?** ii. 6, **patthāṇa** (**prārthanāya**) ii. 12 **paramattha** (**paramārtha**) iii. 30, vi. 57, **mahattha** (**mahārtha**) v. 21, vi. 93, **samattha** (**samartha**) ii. 5, iv. 18. As to **mahantha** v. 25 see above §10. **samatta** (**samartha**) is probably to be corrected into **samattha**.—**rdh** is represented by **ddh**: **saddha** (**sārtha**) iii. 1, **muddhā** (**mūrdhan**) v. 64 **dhaṇuddhara** (**dhanurdhara**) vi. 93; but in the forms of the rt. **vṛdh-** (**vardh-**), the combination is represented by **ddh**: **vaddhasi** (**varddnase**) ii. 1, **vaddhiadi vṛddhyate**; (**chāyā** wrong), **samvaddhia** (**samvarddhita**) ii. 12.

§ 18. **Mutes with spirants**:—The spirant is as a rule assimilated to the mute. **kṣ** is always represented by **kkh**, except in **vacchatthala** (**vakṣaṣthala**) ii. 34, iv. 68; thus **lakkhī** (**lakṣmi**) v. 5, and **Lakkhaṇa** (**Lakṣmaṇa**) i. 6, 58, 82 etc. Cf. however, **vikkevaṇikkeva** (**vikṣepanikṣepa**) iii. 1 beside **ṇikkhitta** (**nikṣipta**) iv. 74, **takkhaṇa** (**tatkṣaṇa**) iv. 19 beside **khana** (**kṣana**) iv. 85 **viḷakkha** (**vilakṣa**) iv. 89. **vijjai** i. 84 is=**vijjayati** and not **vīkṣate** as in the **chāyā**. **ts** is variously represented; **vaccha** (**vatsa**) i. 6. etc. beside **vacca** (once i. 58), **ṇibhacchati** (**nirbhartsayati**) v. 104 **samivaccara** (**samvatsara**) v. 58, **vaccalattana** (**vatsalatva**) v. 27 and **samussāhedi** (**samutsāhayati**) i. 14. **ps**: **accarāṇaṃ** (**apsarasām**) iv. 79. **śc**: **accariyaṃ** (**āścaryam**) v. 67 and **piccala** (**niścala**) iv. 5, **sk**: **dukkhara** (**duṣkara**) v. 25. **ṣṭh** and **ṣṭh** are both represented by **ṭṭh** which is also written **ṭṭ** or **ṭhṭh**, but **ṇiṣṭura** i. 58 beside **ṇiṭṭhura** ii. 12, **Vasiṣṭha** i. 82 beside **Vasiṭṭha** vi. 90, **susṭhu** i. 108 beside **sutṭhu** i. 16 iii. 1 are evidently mistakes. **sp**: **bappa** (**bāṣpa**) v. 27 'tear'. **st** and **sth** are changed into **tth**. **paddhi** (**nāsti**) iv. 18 beside **atthi** i. 40, **jalahara-ddhanida**

(-stanīta) iii. 30, **pattana** (prasthāna) ii. 50 beside **patthāna** in the very next line, **hatta** (hasta) ii. 38 beside **hattha** iv. 14 are all to be corrected accordingly. In the forms of the rt. **sthā**, **ṭṭh** frequently appears instead of **tth**: **ṭṭhida** (sthita) iv. 2, 79, v. 5, **avaṭṭhida** (avasthita) v. 21, **saṃṭhādum** (samsthātum) i. 6, **ṭṭhāna** (sthāna) iii. 36 v. 25, 27, beside **tthāna** iv. 1, v. 3. Further **kkambha** (stambha) v. 5, beside **tambha** ii. 12 v. 60 and **tthambha** v. 21, **timida** (stimita) iii. 55. **sp** is turned into **pp**: **parisa** (sparśa) i. 14 ii. 12, **pappanda** (praspanda) v. 21, while **sph** is both **pp**. and **pph**: **sampodaa** (samsphoṭaka) iii. 1 and **parippuḍa** (parisphuṭa) i. 32.

§ 19. **Nasals with nasals**:—**nm:jamma** ii. 46 and **ummullia** (**unmūlita**) vi. 93.

§ 20. **Nasals with semivowels**:—The semivowel is assimilated to the nasal. **ny** (and **nv**) always changed into **ṇṇ**: as to **maṇṇū** iii. 30 see §10 above; similarly **niṃmāṇusa** i. 82, **niṃmida** iv. 1, **sahadhammaārinī** ii. 37; also **Vaṃmī** i. 82 etc. beside **Vammī** i. 108 etc.

§ 21. **Nasals with spirants**:—**śm**:—**sahassarassiṃ** (sahasraśmiḥ) vi. 90 **śm**: **gimma** (grīśma) iii. 1. **sm** is represented by **mh**, which is also written **hm**: **ahmāṇaṃ** (asmākam) v. 25; **ahlāṇaṃ** (chāyā: asmākam) is a misprint; **mhi** (asmi) i. 82, ii. 82 iii. 1 etc. beside **mmi** i. 48 and **pmi** i. 16, iv. 42, 44, 50 etc. As to **aṃmi** i. 38 and **viṃmaya** iv. 19 see above, §10. **hn** and **hm** are retained as they are: **aṇugahṇādi** (aṇugrḥṇāti) i. 84 **bahmaṇajādi** (brāhmaṇajātiḥ) v. 112.

§ 22. **Semivowels with semivowels**:—**ry** is changed into **yy**: **ayya** (ārya) i. 34, **ayyāhiṃ** (āryābhiḥ) i. 56. Elsewhere **ama** is uniformly written, due to Dravidian influence. See above §10. **sūra** i. 68, iii. 1, iv. 77 should be connected with Skr. **sūra** and not with **sūrya**. **rv**, **vy** and **vr** are regularly represented by **vv**. **saṃvahā** iv. 40 beside **savvahā** (sarvathā) i. 48, etc.

§ 23. **Semivowels with spirants**:—The semivowel is without exception assimilated to the spirant and the result is always **ss** medially and **s** initially; **dassanīa** (darsanīya) iii. 30 but every-

where else **daṁs-** (12 times); **passa** (**pārśva**) iv. 10; **mahesi** (**maharṣi**) i. 82, iv. 33, v. 25, vi. 90. **Rāmaccāma** (**Ramaśyāma**) ii. 1 beside **ssāmala** (**śyāmala**) v. 5 is peculiar, perhaps due to Dravidian influence. **saya** (**śva**) i. 103 beside **saa** i. 64 (i. 84 **chāyā** wrong).

ACCIDENCE.

Nouns.

§ 24. **a**-stems. Nom. sg. m. **muṇijaṇo** (**munijanah**) iv. 19 n. **kudūhalaṃ** (**kutūhalaṃ**) i. 14, **sappaṃ** v. 62; **sarpa** is masc. in Sanskrit. Voc. sg. m. **Kosalāhipa** (**Kosalādhipa**) i. 34. Acc. sg. m. n. **assamaṃ** (**āśramam**) iii. 55. **pāṇaṃ** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in **chāyā**. Instr. sg. m. **dāvāṇaṇa** (**dāvānalena**) v. 15. n. **uttariṇa** (**uttariyena**) iv. 64. Abl. sg. m. **candādo** (**candrat**) i. 90. n. **muḥādo** (**mukhāt**); here as well as in the case of several other Abl. forms the **chāyā** is wrongly given as **mukhataḥ** etc.) iv. 79. Gen. sg. m. **assassa** (**aśvasya**) ii. 37. n. **pāvassa** (**papasya**) i. 14. Loc. sg. m. **sagge** (**svarge**) ii. 12. n. **simhāsane** (**simhāsane**) v. 5. —Nom. pl. m. **pāṇā** (**prāṇāḥ**) vi. 115. **jualā** (**yugalau**) ii. 5; this word is neuter in Sanskrit; perhaps **jamalā** (**yamalau**) is the correct reading. **pāṇaṃ** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in **chāyā**. n. **silāhaṇijjāṃ** **akkharāṃ** (**ślāghaṇiyāṇy** **akṣarāṇi**) i. 78. **ālakkhaṇiā** **edāpi** **kadaṇāpi** (**ālakṣaṇiyanetāni** **kadaṇāni**) iv. 17 is evidently through Sanskrit influence. Acc. pl. n. **kusumāṃ** (**kusumāni**) iii. 27, **caridāṃ** (**caritāni**) iv. 3. Instr. pl. m. **sevaehiṃ** (**sevakaiḥ**) v. 17 n. **vaanehiṃ** (**vacanaiḥ**) iv. 85 v. 13. **arannāhiṃ** i. 82 is probably from an **ā**-stem or is to be corrected into **arannehiṃ**. Gen. pl. m. **sihāṇaṃ** (**siṃhānām**) ii. 5 (in verse) n. **ṇaṇāṇaṃ** (**nayanayoh** and not **nayanānām** as in the **chāyā**). Loc. pl. m. **upabhoṇsu** (**upabhogeṣu**) iv. 5.

§ 25. **ā**-stems. Nom. sg. **kundamālā** iii. 27. **patthaṇiaṃ** (**prārthanīyā**) ii. 12 is perhaps to be corrected into **patthanīā**. Voc. sg. **apaṇḍide** (**apaṇḍite**) ii. 19. Acc. sg. **dhāraṃ** (**dhārām**) v. 7. Instr. sg. **vaṇadevadāe** (**vanadevatayā**) iv. 14; **tarāṅgāe** (**tarāṅgaiḥ**) i. 84; this word is masc. in Sanskrit. Gen. sg. **Śīdāe**

(**Sitāyāḥ**) i. 48. **cirajīvidāe** (**cirajivitāyāḥ**) iv. 68 **jīvita** is neut. in Sanskrit. Loc. sg. **dīhiāe** (**dirghikāyām**) iv. 5.—Nom. pl. **piamvadā** (**priyamvadāḥ**) i. 66. Instr. pl. **itthiāhiṃ** (**strībhiḥ**) ii. 12 as well as **sampādidāhi** (**sampāditābhiḥ**) iv. 5. Gen. pl. **munikaṇṇaṇaṃ** (**munikanakānām**) iv. 79.

§ 26. i- and u-stems. Nom. sg. m. **Somittī** (**Saumitriḥ**) i. 72. In **sahassarāṣiṃ** (**sahasrarāṣmiḥ**) vi. 90 the final nasal is to be omitted and corrected accordingly. **maṇṇū** (**manyuḥ**) iii. 30 beside **tusārabindu** (**tuṣārabinduḥ**) v. 15 f. **bahmaṇajādī** (**brāhmaṇajātiḥ**) v. 112 beside **āṇatti** (**ājñaptiḥ**) i. 66. Voc. sg. f. **Jaṇṇavedi** (**Yajñavedi**) iv. 1. Acc. sg. f. **paḍikidiṃ** (**pratikṛtiṃ**) iv. 38. **gaṇṇ** (**gatiṃ**) ii. 12 beside **gaṇṇ** iii. 1 Instr. sg. m. **Vaṇṇiṇā** (**Vālmīkinā**) iv. 5. As to **sothhiṇā** i. 108 see above § 4. f. **ākidiē** (**ākṛtyā**) iv. 75. **viṇṇattiā** i. 84 is perhaps through Sanskrit influence. Gen. sg. m. **paṇṇo** (**patyuḥ**) i. 52 f. **padikiē** (**pratikṛteḥ**) iv. 38 as **viṇṇattiā** above. Nom. pl. m. **maheṣiṇo** (**maharṣayaḥ**) i. 82 beside **adihi** (**atithiḥ**) v. 71. Gen. pl. m. **pahudiṇaṃ** (**prabhṛtīnām**) i. 96. Loc. pl. m. **padumāpacayādisu** (**padmāpacayādiṣu**) iv. 5.

§ 27. ī- and ū-stems. Nom. sg. **Vedavadi** (**Vedavati**) ii. 12. Voc. sg. **bhaavaī** **Bhāirai** (**bhagavati** **Bhāgīrathi**) i. 108. Acc. sg. **Vaidehiṃ** (**Vaidehīn**, **chāyā** wrong) beside **bhagavaṇṇiṃ** **Bhāirahiṃ** (**bhagavatīm** **Bhāgīrathīm**) iii. 27, **puḍhavīṃ** (**prthivīm**) v. 7 and **mandabhāṇiṃ** (**mandabhāginīm**) i. 58. Instr. sg. **ajjūe** **Kekaie** (**śvaśrīvā** **Kaikeyyā**, **chaya** not correct) i. 22. Gen. sg. **piasahiē** (**priyasakhyāḥ**) ii. 1, 14 Loc. sg. **puḍaviē** (**prthivyām**) ii. 12—Nom. pl. **sīṃantiṇiō** (**sīṃantinyāḥ**) v. 11. Instr. pl. **mārisiṇiṃ** (**mādrśibhiḥ**) ii. 12 beside **vaṇavāsiṇiḥi** (**vaṇavāsinibhiḥ**) iv. 5 Gen. pl. **dampadiṇaṃ** (**dampatīnām**) ii. 12. **ajjūṇaṃ** (**śvaśrūṇām**) i. 56.

§ 28. r-stems. Acc. sg. **mādaraṃ** (**mātaram**) iv. 7. Gen. sg. **piduṇo** (**pituh**) v. 104.

§ 29. t-stems. Nom. sg. m. **anusoanto** (**anusoacan**) i. 58. f. **pariharanti** iv. 3. Instr. sg. **sandiṣanteṇa** (**sandiṣatā**) i. 52. Nom.

pl. āloantā (ālokayantau) ii. 42, alamkarantā (alamkurvatau) v. 27.—Nom. sg. (t)attabhavaṃ ((t)attrabhavān) v. 43 (iv. 75), bhaavaṃ (bhagavān) i. 98. Voc. sg. bhaavaṃ (bhagavan) i. 102, vi. 61. Instr. ag. bhaadā (bhavatā) i. 96. bhaavadā (bhagavatā) ii. 3. Gen. sg. bhaavado (bhagavataḥ) v. 5.—Nom. pl. bhavanto (bhavantaḥ) iv. 40. The feminine of bhavaṃ is always hodi iv. 81, 83, 87.

§ 30. **n-stems.** Nom. sg. rāā (rājā) iv. 75. Voc. sg. rāaṃ v. 7, rāa v. 19 (rājan). Gen. sg. rāṇo (rājñah) v. 21. mahārāo i. 66 (Nom. sg.), mahārāaṃ i. 58 (Acc. sg.), mahārāassa ii. 8 (Gen. sg.) like an **a-** stem.—Nom. sg. appā (ātmā) vi. 112. Acc. sg. attāṇaṃ (ātmānam) i. 43. Instr. sg. attāiṃ (ātmanā) iv. 14. Gen. sg. attāṇo (ātmanah) iii. 30 also attāṇaassa iii. 30 and appāṇaassa iii. 55—Nom. sg. muddhā (mūrdhā) v. 64. jammaṃ (janma) ii. 46, sakkhī (sākṣī) vi. 90, ñioavattī (niyogavartī) vi. 112. Acc. sg. vaṇavāsinaṃ (vaṇavāsinaṃ) iii. 33. Loc. sg. pahi (pathi) ii. 4.—Nom. pl. kesariṇo (kesariṇah) v. 7, phalāsinaṃ (phalāsinaḥ) v. 19. Gen. pl. nivāsinaṃ (nivāsinaṃ) v. 64, vaṇavāsinaṃ (vaṇavāsinaṃ) ii. 16.

§ 31. **s-stem.** Gen. pl. accarāṇaṃ (apsarasām) iv. 79.

Pronouns.

§ 32. **1st Person.** Nom. sg. ahaṃ, several times, haṃ i. 86, only once. Acc. sg. maṃ, several times, māṃ i. 84, only once, perhaps to be corrected into mam. Instr. sg. mae. Gen. sg. mama and me. Loc. sg. mayi i. 52, only once.—Nom. pl. amhe v. 25, only once. Gen. pl. ahmāṇaṃ v. 25, twice.

§ 33. **2nd Person.** Nom. sg. tuṃaṃ, several times, tuvaṃ v. 49, only once. suṃaṃ v. 12 is to be corrected into tuṃaṃ. Acc. sg. tuṃaṃ. In i. 64 the reading is wrong. Instr. sg. tue, tae (once). Gen. sg. tava (thrice), tuha (twice), de (twice), te (once). Instr. pl. tuhmehiṃ. Gen. pl. tuhm(mh)āṇaṃ.

§ 34. **Demonstratives.** tad-: Nom. sg. m. so; f. sā; n. taṃ. Acc. sg. m. taṃ. Instr. sg. m. teṇa (four times), deṇa (once). Abl. sg. m. tado. Gen. sg. m. tassa; f. tae. Loc. sg. tahiṃ—

Nom. pl. m. **te, de** (ii. 42 *châyā* wrong). Gen. pl. m. **dāṇam**.—*tā*, several times.

etad-: Nom. sg. m. **eso**, s. t. **esa** (3 times). f. **esā**. n. **edaṃ**. Acc. sg. m. f. n. **edaṃ** Instr. sg. m. n. **ediṇā**. f. **edāe**. Gen. sg. n. **edassa**. Loc. sg. f. n. **etassiṃ**, **edassiṃ**.—Nom. pl. m. **ede**, n. **edāṇi** (Sanskrit influence?) Instr. pl. m. **edehiṃ**. Gen. pl. m. **edāṇam**.—**ettha** several times.

idam-: Nom. sg. m. **aam**. Acc. sg. m. n. **imaṃ**. Abl. sg. m. **imādo**. Gen. sg. m. f. **se**—**ido**, several times. **kīdiso so**: (ii. 18) the reading is doubtful.

§ 35. **Relative**. Nom. sg. m. **jo**. n. **jaṃ**. Acc. sg. n. **jaṃ**. Instr. sg. m. **jēṇa**. Gen. sg. **jassa**. Loc. sg. **jahiṃ**.

§ 36. **Interrogative**. Nom. sg. m. **ko**. f. **kā**. n. **kiṃ** Acc. sg. n. **kiṃ**. Instr. sg. **keṇa** Abl. sg. **kīsa** (never *kissa*). Gen. sg. **kassa**.—**kahaṃ**, **kahiṃ** and **kudo**. As to the combinations of *ko* and *kim*, the following occur: **kovi** i. 84, iii. 55, vi. 93; **koṇu** i. 104; **koṇukhu** iii. 30; **kiṃvi** iv. 74, 79; **kiṃdu** iv. 40; **kiṃti** ii. 43; **kiṃṇukhu** i. 82. (*kocci* and *kiṃci* do not occur).

§ 37. **Pronominal Adjectives**. **antareṇa** v. 13, vi. 90. **aṇṇo** i. 88, vi. 93; **aṇṇā** i. 74. **avaraṃ** ii. 30, iii. 30. **ubhayaṃ** v. 11. **kadamam** v. 117. **saa** i. 64, **saam** i. 82, **sayam** i. 108 (*sva*!). **savvo** iv. 18.—**parakeraam** (*parakiyam*) i. 25, **paraeraam** i. 25, **parakeraeṇa** iv. 64.

Numerals.

§ 38. **One**. **ea** iv. 19, **ekkam** v. 77, **ekkeṇa** i. 64, **eassa**! ii. 12. —**aṇea** ii. 12, **bhuvaneṅka** vi. 93, **eāṇi** i. 82, 88, iv. 16, **eāṇiṃ** i. 82, **eāṇiṇe** ii. 12.

§ 39. **Two**. **duve** ii. 1, v. 21. **donṇam** (*dvayoh*) v. 77.—**dudio** (*dvitīyaḥ*) ii. 3, **-dudiam** (*-dvitīyam*) iv. 74.—**diṇṇa-** (*divi-guna*) iv. 16.—**ubhayaṃ** v. 11; As to **julā** ii. 5 see above § 24. **mihuṇa** iv. 36.

§ 40. **Seven**. **sattame** iv. 5.

- § 41. **Ten.** **Dasaraha** i. 96, **Dasarahe** v. 27.—**dasamo** v. 58.
 § 42. **Hundred.** **sadahā** **sadahā** (**śatadhā**) v. 64.
 § 43. **Thousand.** **sahassa** (**sahasra**) vi. 93. **sahassarassiṃ** (**sahasraraśmiḥ**) vi. 90.

The Verb.

§ 44. **The Present.—Indicative.** The 3rd sg. ending is, as a rule, **-di**, only exceptionally **-i**: **āacchaī** iv. 74 beside **gacchadi** iii. 45, **iccaī** (**icchatī**) iv. 87, **bāheī** iv. 79 beside **bīhedi** (**bādhate**) ii. 12, **santavaī** ii. 19 beside **santavadi** (**santapīti**) iii. 55, **alaṃkareī** iv. 75 beside **alaṃkaredi** (**alaṃkaroti**) ii. 13, **dīsaī** iv. 38, **dīsaī** i. 82 (**drśyate**) are the only examples quotable. The ending **-de** appears in an isolated form, **pekkhade** iv. 38 by the side of **pekkhadi** (**prekṣate**). The 2nd sg. ending is always **-si**, never **-se**, and the 1st sg. ending is **-mi**. In the pl. the 3rd pers. is very frequent. It always ends in **-nti**, never in **-ndi**. The 2nd pl. does not occur but one example of the 1st pl. is met with; **gāamhama** v. 25.

The change of the stem final to **e** is frequent, especially in the Imperative: **aṇusaremi** iii. 1, **tuvaremi** ii. 50, **bāhedi** ii. 12, iv. 79, **bādhesi** iii. 36, **karemi** i. 82 etc., **alaṃkaredi** ii. 13, iv. 75.

Imperative:—The 3rd sg. in **-du** is very common. 2nd sg.: **-a** in **gaccha** iv. 10, **bhaṇa** iii. 50, **muñca** v. 62 and **samassasa** vi. 65; **-āhi** in **bhaṇāhi** ii. 45 **bhayāhi** iv. 83 **suṇāhi** iv. 5, v. 23; **-ehi** in **ādesehi** i. 14, **āṇavehi** v. 15, **kahehi** i. 32, 42, **piivehi** i. 12, **parittāehi** v. 15, **bādhehi** i. 58, **viṇṇavehi** i. 56, **viṇodehi** iv. 17. **aṇṇesahi** iv. 1 is perhaps to be corrected into **-sehi**. **hohi** is exceptional. **sunṇamtu** iv. 40, vi. 90 is the only quotable form for the 3rd pl. **upasappadu** v. 43 is to be corrected into **upassappantu**. The other forms of the plural and 1st sg. do not occur.

Optative:—Very rare. **bhave** iv. 3, 38 **bhaveditti** ! ii. 46.

Roots of the 1st class:—**bhū**: **hodi** iv. 18, 91. **homi** iii. 30 iv. 10, **hohi** i. 58, 64, v. 5 **hodu** iv. 38 **aṇuhodi** iv. 18, **aṇubhavadi** ii. 43, **aṇubhavāmi** iii. 30, **pahavadi** iv. 46, 56 vi. 90 **pahavāmi**

ii. 38 iii. 55, iii. 1, 30 *bhavanti* v. 27 (*chaya abhūtām* wrongly) *pahavanti* i. 12.—*sthā*: *ciṭṭhanti* v. 27, 67, *aṇuciṭṭhāmi* iv. 17, 40.—*gam*: *gacchadi* iii. 45, *ācchā* iv. 74. *gaccha* i. 68, 108, iv. 10. —*tvar*:- *tuvaremi* ii. 50, *tuvaredu* v. 1.—*preṣ*: *pekkhadi* iv. 38, *pekkhade* iv. 38, *pekkhasi* ii. 30, *pekkhāmi* ii. 45 iii. 55.—*smṛ*: *sumarasi* iii. 33, *sumarāmi* v. 58.—*sṛ*: *aṇusaremi* iii. 1.—*tr*: *odarāmi* i. 14.—*mrj*:- *pamajjāmi* iii. 55.—*ruh*: *adirohadi* v. 64.—*vr̥dh*: *vaḍḍhasi* ii. 1.—*kram*: *adikkamāmi* iv. 40.—*hr̥*: *haranti* ii. 5.—*ram*: *ahiramadi* i. 18.—*labh*: *uvālabbhāmi* i. 58.—*bādh*: *bādhesi* iii. 36, *bāhedi* ii. 12, *bāhe* iv. 79, *bādheyadi* (?) ii. 42.—*vr̥t*: *vaṭṭadi* i. 12, *vaṭṭhadi* vi. 63 (to be corrected), *vattāmi* (*chāyā* wrong) iii. 52.—*vr̥dh*, *vaḍḍhasi* ii. 1.—*tap*. *saṃtavai* ii. 19, *saṃtavadi* iii. 55, *saṃtapasi* iv. 60. *pavvajami* i. 82 and *paḍanti* ii. 5. are in need of correction.

2nd class:—*as*: *atthi* i. 40: *aṇmi* i. 38, (*ṃ*)*mi* i. 64, iv. 44 (with assimilation) beside *mhi* ii. 12, 34, iii. 30, v. 60 and *hmi* vi. 59 i. 4, vi. 63 with printer's devil; *sonti* (*santi*) i. 64.—*yā*: *āanti* i. 82.

4th class:—*kup*; *kuppadu* iv. 40.

5th class:—*ci*: *ociṇomi* iii. 27.—*śak*: *sakkaṇomi* iv. 40.—*śru*: *suṇāhi* iv. 5, v. 23 *suṇṇantu* iv. 40, vi. 90.

6th class:—*iṣ*: *icchāmi* iv. 1, *icca* iv. 87.—*viś*: *upavisadi* ii. 11, *pavisadi* iv. 8.—*majj*: *ṇimajjāmi* ii. 42. *dhṛ*: *dharanti* (*dhriyante*) vi. 57.

8th class:—*kr̥*:- *alaṃkaredi* ii. 13, *alaṃkare* iv. 75, *karemi* i. 82, iii. 30, 55, iv. 46, *karidu* (*karotu*) v. 71 beside *karodu* vi. 93.

9th class:—*grah*: *aṇugahṇādi* i. 84.—*jñā*, *jāṇāsi* ii. 25 iv. 8 (with a misprint) etc., *jāṇāmi* ii. 42, iii. 30 etc. *jāṇanti* iv. 6, 7, *ṇa jāṇāmi* iv. 87.

10th class:—*rūp*; *ṇirūvemi* iii. 30.—*bharts*: *ṇib-* *bhacchadi* (*-chedi*) v. 104.—*tark*: *takkemi* ii. 6, v. 7.—*dhṛ*, *dhārinti* v. 25.—*mrj*: *pamajjami* (*-jje*?) iii. 55.—*pr̥*: *pāremi* i. 6.—*vi-*: *vijjā* i. 84 (*vijayati*, *chāyā* wrong).

Imperfect:—*āsi* iv. 79. *mā rodī* iv. 15. *āsa* iv. 16 looks like Perfect, but it is doubtful; the passage is corrupt.

§ 45. **Future:**—The ending of the 1st sg. is, as a rule, *-m*. *-mi* occurs only in a single form, *parisussāmi* vi. 15. The 3rd sg. ending is *-di* and the pl. ending, *-nti*, appear in a single instance, *sambhāvissanti* iv. 40. Forms with the thematic *-i* are very frequent. *bhu*: *bhavissadi* i. 50. *gam*: *gamissam* iv. 40, iv. 40. *sthā*: *anuciṭṭhissadi* v. 25, *anuciṭṭhissam* ii. 50. *prekṣ*: *pekkhissadi* iii. 55, *pekkhissam* iii. 30. *sr*: *osarissam* iv. 36 (*chāyā* incorrect). *vṛt*: *anuvattissadi* iv. 3. *srp*. *uvas*: *ppoissam* ii. 13 *upasappissam* iv. 40 (*chāyā* in both places incorrect).

cakṣ: *ācakkissadi* iii. 1. *rud*: *roissam* iv. 16.

kup:—*kuppissadi* iv. 40. *śram*: *vissamissam*, i. 16.

prach: *pucchissam* v. 100, 112.

kr:—*karaissam* i. 108 (*chāyā* wrong), iv. 74.

bandh:—*ṇibbandhaissam* v. 5.

varṇ: *nivvaṇṇaissam* iii. 30. *lakṣ*: *lakkhaissam* v. 7.

§ 46. **Passive:**—In addition to *-īa*-, *-ia*- is frequently found. They are both equally common. *adikkhiadi* vi. 80, *āvaṃjiadi* iii. 30, *niṃdiadi* vi. 112, *pucciadi* (*procyate*) iv. 15, *parihariasi* iv. 72, *bhaṇiadi* ii. 5, *vaḍḍhiadi* ii. 40 (*chāyā* incorrect). *-ia*- is perhaps due to the contamination of the form *-ia*- and *-ijja*-. *dīsaī* iv. 82, *dissaī* iv. 38, *dīsasi* iv. 89 are special forms.

§ 47. **Causative:**—*p*-causative: *āṇavedi* i. 98, *āṇavedu* v. 119, *āṇavehi* iv. 52, *viṇṇavedi* i. 62, *viṇṇavemi* i. 94, iv. 48, *viṇṇavidavvo* i. 62, *patthāvayanti* iv. 48, *saddāveanti* ii. 42, *saddāvaissam* ii. 13. The other forms are of the type *adivāhedi* iv. 5 and *adivāhemi* ii. 11, iv. 16.

§ 48. **Denominative:**—*romaṇcedi* iii. 30. *saccāvaṇadi* vi. 90. *saddāveanti* and *saddāvaissam* quoted above.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 49. **Present Participle:**—*-anta*: *bhavanto* iv. 40, *saṃdisantena* i. 52 and the like. *anpiccaritti* is corrupt. It is = *anuca-*

ranti acc. to **châyā**. Feminine form ends in **-anti**: **akkhipanti** ii. 13, **pahavanti** iv. 40 and so on.

-māṇa: **appesamāṇassa** iv. 77, **dīsamāṇa** vi. 93 (passive), **dharamāṇe** v. 27 **vaṭṭamāṇo** iv. 5.

§ 50. **Past Passive Participle**:—**da** The **d** is dropped in a few forms: **kampia** i. 6, **lalia** iv. 18 beside **laḷidā** v. 21, **viniggaa** v. 7, **samvaḍḍhiā** ii. 12. The vowel preceding the suffix is generally **i** short; but **paḍigahīda** v. 49 beside **gahida** ii. 50 and **ṇigahida** i. 40. **jānida** v. 86 beside **aṇṇāda** v. 60 and **aṇaṇṇāda** vi. 61, **viṇṇāda** iv. 38 and **ahiṇṇāda** iv. 66. Of the forms without **i** the following may be quoted: **adikkanta** iv. 68 etc. **adimuttu** iv. 79, **kida** i. 82 etc., **gada** i. 36 etc. **gaddha** (**grathita**) iii. 27, **jāa** i. 14, iii. 1 beside **jāda** ii. 12, vi. 15, **ṭṭhida** iv. 2 etc., **paripaddha** v. 5, **samārūḍha** v. 5.

-na: **ahinṇa** (**bhid-**) vi. 88, **āsanna** (**sad**) iv. 2 etc., **pacchanna** (**chad**) iii. 55 and **paccanna** iv. 79 (to be corrected), **pasanna** iv. 58 etc., and **visanna** v. 49 (**sad**), **vicchinṇa** (**chid**) iv. 7 and **vitthinṇa** (**str-**) v. 117. **punṇa** (**pṛ.** or **pūr**) i. 90 etc.—**dinna** (**datta**) v. 86; and **mahapadinnā** iii. 27 is corrupt, perhaps the correct reading is **maha padinnāda** and **mae padinnāda**.

§ 51. **Gerundives**. **-davva**: **aṇugahīdavvā** i. 56 and **aṇugahīdavvā** i. 62, **aṇuciṭṭhīdavvaṃ** iv. 64, **jāṇīdavvaṃ** iii. 30, **hodavvaṃ** iv. 19, and so on.

-añā: **aṇukampanīā** i. 96, **dassanīo** iii. 30, **paḍipālāṇīā** i. 96, **vajjanīā** iii. 41, **soanīā** ii. 12, iii. 50, with **soanījjo** (iii. 50) in the very next line, also **silāhaṇijjāṃ** i. 78, **sambharanīāṃ** ii. 7. Note **patthanīāṃ** ii. 12 with short vowel. **-a** does not occur.

§ 52. **Gerund**. **-ia** is common: **ajāṇia** iii. 30, **aṇuciṭṭhia** iv. 42, **uddisia** iii. 27 beside **uṇḍisia** ii. 28, **gacchia** v. 21, **bhavia** i. 12, **bhamia** (**bhūtva**) ii. 12, **uvālambhia** i. 38, **suṇia** ii. 6, **sumaria** v. 15, 27, and so on. **kadua** and **gadua** are exceptional.

§ 53. **Infinitives**. **-idum**: **apakkamidum** iv. 74, **uvekkhidum** iv. 40, **upahasidum** iv. 87, **odaridum** i. 6, **ogāhidum** iv. 5, **jāṇi-**
dum iv. 1 and so on. **kādum** iii. 1 and **samṭhādum** i. 6 are the

only forms without union vowel. Note **nivvasidum** (nirvāsāyitum) i. 60, **visajjaḍḍum** (visarjayitum) iii. 30 and **ativāhidum** (ativāhayitum) ii. 12.

§ 54. **Formative suffixes.** -a (-ka): **kumāraā** v. 21, **puttāā** ii. 1, **bhīrua** iv. 60, **mukhaō** iv. 19, **sīmaṇṭaa** i. 62, **saṅgītaa** iv. 1.

-ttaṇa (-tva): **adhaṇṇattaṇaṃ** i. 40, **avikaḷattaṇa** vi. 101, **piṣaṃsattaṇaṃ** ii. 43, **dhannaṇṇattaṇaṃ** i. 58, **mahiḷattaṇa** i. 48, **mahaṭṭaṇa** v. 15, 112.

-dā (tā): **avissasaṇḍādā** ii. 12, **aṇurāgadā** ii. 27, 39, **agoaradā** iv. 38, **avinīdadā** iv. 40, **parāhīṇadā** iii. 30, **lahudā** v. 15.

-do (-tas): **aggado** i. 12 etc. **ido** i. 68 etc. **gupaḍo** v. 9, **dosado** v. 9. In the *chāyā* the Abl. -ādo is several times confounded with this suffix: cf. **dukkādo** ii. 12, **muhādo** iv. 79, v. 64, **visaādo** i. 60, **simhāsaṇḍādo** v. 62, **hiaādo** i. 60.

-hā (-thā): **aṇṇahā** iv. 91, **jaha**, **jahā** iv. 19, **taha** i. 14, etc. **savvahā** i. 82 etc. **saṃvahā** iv. 40.—(-dhā): **sadahā** (śatadhā) v. 64.

-metta (-mātra): **adimattam** ii. 19, iii. 55; but **uvālaṃbhamettaṇa** i. 40, **sumaraṇamettaṇa** i. 62, **suamettaṇa**, in a corrupt passage, ii. 12. It appears that **-metta** is the form accepted by our author and the first word is to be corrected accordingly.

-dara, -tama (-tara, -tama): **ahiadara** ii. 12 etc. **uccadara** v. 21, **gurudara** v. 7 also **guruara** v. 7, **loladara** v. 21. -aṇṇatama v. 5— -tṭha: **jetṭha** i. 76, etc.

§ 55. **Indeclinables.**

ai occurs three times, once (iii. 36) in this form and twice (ii. 19, iv. 60) in its Skt. form, **ayi**. **Bhāsa** uses this word only once in all his dramas and **Kālidāsa** twice, once in his *śakuntalā* and another time in his *Urvaśī*.

amho iii. 30. Not used by other dramatists: **Bhāsa** has **aṃgho** and **Kālidāsa**, **haṃho**.

aho i. 40 and in five other places.

aviha v. 62. **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa** have **avida**.

ādu (uta) v. 9, 102.

evva, sixteen times, and **eva**, only twice. **jeva** is found once, iv. 19, in a doubtful passage.

evvam, 28 times, and **evam**, only twice.

kila iv. 87, v. 25 and **kiḷa** v. 25 (twice), 64.

kīsa, seven times.

khu, always, never **kkhu**. This word occurs 8 times after a long vowel, 7 times after a short vowel (always either **ṇa** or **ṇu**) and 6 times after **anusvāra**. The use of **kkhu** predominates over this form from the 7th or 8th century. **hu** which is common in **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa**, does not occur.

jeva, see above; not after **anusvara**.

ca v. 27 after **anusvara** and once again in the combination **annacca** iii. 1; elsewhere always **a** even after **anusvāra**.

tṭi (iti) after a vowel, several times, **ti** after **anusvāra**, four times (ii. 43, iv. 5, v. 117). **ciraduḥkhasahāyaṃ tṭi** is, therefore, to be amended. cf. § 3.

dāṇiṃ, eleven times. **dāṇi** appears once (i. 82) in a passage which is corrupt. **dāṇi** appears only in **Bhāsa**. **dāṇi** in i. 82 is to be amended into **danṇiṃ**, cf. § 3.

ṇaṃ (nanu) ii. 37, 47. Once **ṇu** (i. 48) is said in the **chāyā** to represent (incorrectly) **nanu**; elsewhere **ṇu** always represents **nu**. cf. § 3.

bho is used several times in addressing persons.

vi (api): cf. § 3, but **pi** does not occur although it is frequent in the earlier dramas.

via (iva), but **vva** which appears in some of the later dramas does not occur.

haddhī. This form occurs in four places, repeated twice in three of the places. **haddhi** occurs in a single passage where it is also repeated. **Bhāsa** always uses the shorter form and among

the later dramatists the longer form is decidedly more common. For our drama **haddhī** appears to be the proper form.

halā, thrice, once with cerebral **l**.

hī hī occurs once (v. 21) in combination with **bho**. **Bhāsa** has always **hi hi** without **bho**. **Kālidāsa** uses both forms while **Harṣa** has always **hi hī bho**.

hā and **he**: each once (i. 34 and iv. 85).

ÜBER DIE ÄLTESTEN INDISCHEN METRIKER UND IHR WERK

Von

Hermann Jacobi

1

Die Metrik (*chandas*) ist eins der sechs Vedāngas, das vorletzte in der ersten Aufzählung derselben in der *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* I, 1,5; als solches galt von je das *Chandaḥsūtra* des Pingala. Es liegt uns in zwei fast identischen Rezensionen vor, die Weber¹ als die des Ṛg und Yajus bezeichnet hat. Sagenhaft ist, was die Tradition von Pingala berichtet. Er soll nämlich, wie Patanjali, ein Nāga gewesen und von einem Makara verschlungen worden sein².

Über das Alter des *Chandaḥsūtra* lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit ausmachen. Gārgya³, der Verfasser des *Sāmopariśiṣṭa* über vedische Metrik, nennt unter den Quellen für dies sein Werkchen den Pingala; dessen *Chandaḥsūtra* galt also in den Ausläufern der vedischen Wissenschaft als Autorität, wie es bei einem Vedānga auch nicht anders zu erwarten ist. Die erste chronologisch einigermaßen datierbare Erwähnung Pingala's findet sich im *Bhāṣya* zum *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I, 1, 5 (S. 16) in dem langen Zitat aus dem *Vṛttikāra* (*Upavarṣa* 2., 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.). Dort heisst es: "Niemand ausser Pingala oder einem, der dessen Werk anerkennt, würde unter *m* (*makāra*) einen dreisilbigen Versfus (trika) aus lauter Längen (*sarvaguru*) verstehn." Die Beschreibung der Metra durch die Buchstaben: *m, y, r, s, t, j, bh, n, (l, g)* galt also schon früh als charakteristisch für Pingala's System.

1. Indische Studien VIII, S. 162. Dies für unsere Kenntniss der indischen Metrik grundlegende Werk ist hier überall gemeint, wo bei dem Namen 'Weber' nur die Seitenzahl angegeben wird.

2. Pancatantra, Pūrṇabhadra's Rezension, II, 29.

3. Weber, S. 158.

Weniger künstlich und vielleicht älter ist die Methode, die Stellen der Zeile anzugeben, wo lange Silben Stehn, wie es noch im Śrutabodha geschieht. Bharata kennt beide Methoden, woraus sich ergibt, dasz das Nāṭyaśāstra jünger als Pingala's Werk ist. Seine Autorität stand also schon in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung fest; wieviel höher sie hinaufreicht, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; doch kann man ein beträchtliches Alter für dieselbe wahrscheinlich machen, obschon zunächst der Anschein dagegen zu sprechen scheint.

So könnte man betonen, dasz Pingala in dem Vedānga über Metrik die weltliche Metrik viel eingehender behandelt als die vedische. Jedoch bietet das Vedānga Grammatik ein Analogon, insofern Pāṇini zur Grundlage derselben die bhāṣā macht, die vedischen Sprach-erscheinungen aber nur als Ausnahmen zu seinen Regeln behandelt. Man könnte sich vielleicht als ein Argument für ein verhältnismässig junges Alter Pingala's darauf berufen, dasz er eine so grosse Zahl, weit über hundert, von 'künstlichen' Sanskrit Metra, d. h. solchen lehrt, in denen nicht nur die Zahl der Silben, sondern auch deren Quantität unveränderlich festgesetzt ist. Es musz also zu seiner Zeit eine hochentwickelte eigenartige Poesie (nach dem Namen der Versmasze zu schlieszen, lyrisch-erotischen Charakters) bei den Sanskrit Redenden bestanden haben. Es ist jedoch nicht abzusehn, weshalb nicht schon fruhe selbst die śiṣṭas zarteren Empfindungen Ausdruck verliehen haben sollten, wozu ihnen die vedischen Metra schwerlich als das geeignete Vehikel erscheinen mochten. Für den fruhen Gebrauch 'künstlicher' Metra zeugt übrigens Patanjali. Wie nämlich Kielhorn¹ gezeigt hat, sind unter jenes Zitaten im Mahābhāṣya eine Anzahl Strophen in 'künstlichen' Metren, und zwar auszer Upajāti und sālīni, namentlich solche von einfachem Rhythmus, nämlich die jambischen, trochäischen und spondeischen Dimeter: Pramāṇī, Samānī und Vidyunmālā, ferner die anapästischen und daktyli-

1. Ind. Ant. 1884, S. 228ff.

schen Tetrameter Totaka und Dodhaka. In diesen 'künstlichen' Versen waren grammatische Lehrsätze abgefasst und discutiert, ebenso wie später gerade die abstraktesten Disziplinen sich ähnlich gebauter Strophen (Bhujāṅgaprayāta, Sragvīṇī) mit Vorliebe bediegen. Eine besonders künstliche Strophe der Art zitiert Patanjali zu VIII, 2, 55, sie hat das Schema $\sim \sim \sim \sim | \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup ||$. Es setzt eine lange literarische Übung voraus um die Sprache so geschmeidig zu machen, dass selbst abstrakte Themata in diesem künstlichen Versmasz behandelt werden konnten, oder gar in der Vidyumālā, einer Strophe von 32 langen Silben. Zu demselben Schluss führt die sehr häufige Verwendung der Āryā zu Kārikās im Mahābhāṣya. Die Āryā (Gāthā) war das leitende Metrum im Prakrit, von dort drang sie in das Sanskrit ein und erwarb sich solche Gunst, dass sie in wissenschaftlichen Werken mit dem Śloka erfolgreich concurriren konnte. Die Grammatiker deren Verse Patanjali zitiert, dürften zumeist im 3ten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gelebt haben. Ihnen ging die Entwicklung der Kunstpoesie voraus, was wohl einen beträchtlichen Zeitraum in Anspruch nahm. Aus ihnen haben sich nur dürftige Spuren erhalten, wozu zwei Praharsīṇī Strophen, eine Pramāṇī- und eine Upajāti-zeile gehören, die Patanjali zu II, 2, 34, VIII, 3, 87 zitiert.

Vorstehende Erörterung über das Alter der künstlichen Metra war hier nötig, um zu zeigen, dass Pingala wohl dem 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angehört haben kann.

Pingala nennt mehrere Vorgänger in der weltlichen Metrik: Kāśyapa, Saitava, Rāta und Māṇḍavya; aber seine Angaben über deren Lehren sind nicht derart, dass man aus ihnen einen Einblick in den damaligen Stand der weltlichen Metrik gewinnen könnte. Aber wir können aus seiner Behandlung des Themas den Fortschritt erkennen, den die Disziplin ihm verdankt. Wir gedachten bereits oben des seiner Erfindung zugeschriebenen Kunstgriffes, die Versfüsse (**trika**) durch Buchstaben zu bezeichnen, wodurch sich die metrischen Schemata auf algebraische Formeln bringen lassen. Die Erklärung dieses Kunstgriffes bildet die Einleitung

zu seinem Lehrbuch wie zu Pāṇini's Grammatik die Sivasūtras, mit denen sie sich auch hinsichtlich ihrer praktischen Bedeutung für die Disziplin vergleichen lassen. Auch darin erscheint Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī vorbildlich für Pingala, dasz sein Chandaḥsūtra ebenfalls aus acht Adhyāyas besteht. Deshalb hat die Bemerkung Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's in seinem 1184 n. Chr. verfassten Kommentar zur Rṅanukramaṇī, dasz er Pāṇinīyānuja sei', einen guten Sinn, wenn sie auch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen sein wird.

Auch sonst greift Pingala zu künstlichen Mitteln, um verwickelte Erscheinungen übersichtlicher darzustellen. Deutlich zeigt sich dies bei der Lehre vom Śloka. Darin geht er nämlich (5, 9) vom Vaktra aus, einer seltenen Strophe,² in der auch die geraden Pādas wie die ungraden des Śloka gebildet sind.

Dasz er diese Darstellungsweise, die sich auch bei den übrigen Metrikern wiederfindet, nachträglich eingeführt hat, lässt sich noch aus seinen sūtras erkennen. Denn bevor er angibt, dasz im Vaktra die Silben 5-7 einen Barchins (y) bilden, lehrt er, dasz von den Silben 2-4 der Anapäst (s) und Tribachys (n) ausgeschlossen sind, und in den geraden Pādas ausserdem der Amphimacer (r). Letztere Regel hat aber nur für den echten Śloka Sinn, weil durch sie der Jambus vor dem Dijambus ausgeschlossen, also die Aufeinanderfolge dreier Jamben vermieden werden sollte. Man sieht nicht ein, weshalb vor dem Antispast bez. Epitritus primus (- - ~) ein Jambus in den ungraden Pādas des Vaktra zulässig, aber in den durchaus gleichen geraden Pādas verboten sein sollte. Die Verwirrung entstand offenbar dadurch, dasz mit älteren sūtras, die den echten Śloka lehrten, solche über

1. Weber, S. 159f.

2. Über ihre Verwendung in der Ākhyāyikā siehe Bhāmaha I, 26, Daṇḍin I, 26. Ich kenne nur vier ältere Vorkom-

das Vaktra verbunden wurden, nicht bloß im Anfang, sondern auch im Fortgang der Darstellung (z. B. 14 und 17). Dadurch ist Pingala's Lehre vom Sloka (welchen Namen er nicht gebraucht), sehr confus, und bei den späteren Metrikern ist sie nicht wesentlich besser. Wahrscheinlich hatten die Kunstdichter auch den Sloka zu variieren versucht und darum das Vaktra erfunden, dies hat dann Pingala in seine Darstellung des Sloka eingeflochten, so wenig auch die wirkliche Bedeutung des Vaktra der ihm beigelegten theoretischen auf die Dauer entsprochen hat. Es scheint übrigens Saitava, eine der vedischen Anuṣṭubh ähnliche Strophe, in der alle Pādas auf Dijambus bez. Pādon secundus (- - ~ -) ausgehen, seiner Lehre vom Sloka zugrunde gelegt zu haben;¹ dem gegenüber wäre Pingala's Ausgehen vom Vaktra eine Neuerung.

Ein künstliches Prinzip, das Pingala eingeführt zu haben scheint, ist ferner die Messung gewisser Metra nach der Morenzahl. Dadurch bringt er verschiedene Metra, wie die Vaitāliya-Arten und die Mātrāsamakās, die manigfaltigen Ursprungs sind, ohne von Anfang an etwas mit der Morenzahl zu tun gehabt zu haben, in einer Klasse unter. Wie unberechtigt dies Prinzip ist, zeigt sich deutlich darin, daß nun die unveränderlichen Vaitāliyas von denen getrennt werden mußten, in denen eine lange Silbe gleich zwei kurzen, und umgekehrt gelten.

Pingala's Bestreben, die bunte Masse der verschiedenartigsten Versmasse in ein System zu bringen und dadurch übersichtlich zu machen, hat offenbar dem Chandaśśūtra zu seinem hohen Ansehn verholfen. Dessen System ist in seinen Grundzügen auch bei den späteren Metrikern in Geltung geblieben, wenn es auch im Einzelnen nicht an Verbesserungsversuchen gefehlt hat.

Pingala teilt die Metra folgendermaßen ein:

1. Pingala erwähnt diese Strophe bei den Vipulās. Diese Vipulā ist einige Male im Mahābhārata belegt, aber niemals in beiden Halbversen zugleich, was doch das Wesentliche bei Saitava's Strophe ist.

- I Die auf **gṇas** von 4 Moren aufgebauten Strophen, in denen je zwei Pādas zu einem Halbvers verwachsen sind: die verschiedenen Aryā-Arten.
- II Die Metra, in denen die Anzahl der Moren bestimmt ist.
(I und II bilden den Inhalt des 4. Adhyāya. Die Späteren nennen die zu I und II gehörigen Versmasse **jāti**¹, und zwar die unter I **Ḡaṇacchandās**, und die unter II **Mātrāchandas**.
- III **vṛttam**. Pingala gibt keine Definition, sondern geht sofort zur Einteilung der vṛttas über:
- samam** (samavṛtta) von vier gleichen Pādas;
 - ardhasamam** (ardhasamavṛtta) von zwei gleichen Vershäften, in denen aber die Pādas ungleich sind;
 - viṣamam** (viṣamavṛtta), alle Pādas sind ungleich. Hierhin werden alle Metra gestellt, die in a. und b. nicht unterzubringen sind. In diese Klasse stellt Pingala auch den Śloka (Vaktram). Hemacandra ist ihm darin gefolgt, während Kedārabhaṭṭa im Vṛttaratnākara ihn zwischen den Vaitāliya-Arten und den Mātrāsamakās einschleibt. Die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, dasz in den jeder Pāda sein bestimmtes Schema haben sollte, und das trifft eben auf den Śloka nicht zu. Wahrscheinlich waren es Bedenken ähnlicher Art, die Pingala bestimmten, vor der Lehre vom Śloka (Vaktra) in V, 9 ff. die regulären Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas (in V, 6-8) zu behandeln, nämlich die trochäische Samānī, die jambische Pramāṇī und das Vitānam, unter welchem Namen die übrigen Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas zusammengefasst sein sollen². Diese kommen dadurch in den Anfang des Abschnittes über die vṛttas (III) zu stehen, während ihre richtige Stelle im 6. Adhyāya wäre. Dort lehrt Pingala folgerichtig die Pramāṇī und Samānī nicht, sondern nur Citrapadā,

1. **padyam catuṣpadam tac ca vṛttam jātir iti dvidhā**. Zitat bei Halāyudha zu, V, 1, Hemacandra zu I, 11.

2. Halāyudha ad V, 8, Hemacandra ad II, 82.

Vidyunmālā und Māṇavakākrīḍitakam¹. Aber eigentlich sollte er auch diese nicht lehren, da sie schon im Vitānam einbegriffen sind. Dies scheint der Sinn einer Bemerkung des Śvetapata² zu sein, worüber Halāyudha zu V, 8 eine Strophe beibringt. Aber trotz dieser Inconsequenz ist an der Echtheit von V, 6-8 nicht zu zweifeln, da ja der spätere Abschnitt hinsichtlich der Samānī und Pramāṇī darauf Rücksicht nimmt. Wahrscheinlich war in Pingala's Quellen der Sammelname Vitānam für andere als die beiden genannten Metra üblich; da aber zu seiner Zeit einige Vitāna-Strophen schon besondere Namen bekommen hatten, so konnte er sie im 6. Adhyāya je an ihrer Stelle aufführen.

Dagegen ist der Abschnitt VIII, 2-19 sicher ein späterer Zusatz, wie Weber, S. 184 und 414 gezeigt hat. Er fehlt tatsächlich in allen Mss. der Rg-, und einigen der Yajus-Rezension. Zwar ist zu diesem Abschnitt Halāyudha's Commentar vorhanden, aber seine Echtheit ist zweifelhaft, vgl. Weber, S. 414 f. Da Bharata und Varāhamihira die meisten der in VIII gelehrtten 19 Metra nicht kennen, muß der betreffende Abschnitt nach dem 6. Jahrhundert zugefügt sein. Hemacandra aber hat ihn wohl gekannt, da er alle 19 Metra lehrt, wenn auch 6 mit andern Namen.³

1. In dieser Reihenfolge in der Yajus-Rezension. Weber, S. 36 f.

2. Derselbe kritisiert auch nach Halāyudha I, 22 Pingala's Lehre von der syllaba anceps am Pādashlusz, und soll auch (vgl. Weber, S. 222 note) mit Māṇḍavya und andern die Lehre von den Zäsuren verworfen haben.

3. Im Vṛttaratnākara (Commentar Pañcikā) finden sich von diese 19 Metra nur 9. Dies ist um so bemerkenswerter, als auch diese kürzeste Rezension des arg interpolierten Werkes durchweg mehr Metra in jeder Klasse aufzählt als Pingala. Wenn also der Redactor den betreffenden Abschnitt im 8. Adhyāya gekannt haben sollte, so müßte er ihn als unecht angesehen und darum ignoriert haben.

Der Rest des 8. Adhyāya ist zweifellos echt. Er handelt über den Prastāra, die systematische Anordnung der Metra, and die Stelle eines jeden in demselben. Solche algebraische Spekulationen haben von je den indischen Geist lebhaft interessiert, und wir haben keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, dass sie auch schon Pingala beschäftigt haben. Derselbe Gegenstand wird auch von Bharata im 14. Adhyāya behandelt, teils übereinstimmend mit Pingala V, 3-5, VIII, 20 ff., teils daran anklingend.

2

Die zweitälteste Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der Indischen Metrik ist das Nāṭyaśāstra Bharata's. Für ihn ist die Metrik nicht Selbstzweck, sondern er behandelt die Metren insofern sie im Drama Verwendung finden. Er widmet der Metrik den ganzen 15. Adhyāya: Chandovṛttividhi, und den 32ten: Dhruvādhyāya, zum Teil. Die im 15. Adhyāya gelehrteten Metra sollen in Dramen und andern Dichtungen verwendet werden, die im 32ten sind Gesangsstrophen.

Betrachten wir zuerst Bharata's Metrik im 15. Adhyāya. Wie oben bereits bemerkt, gibt er bei Beschreibung der samavṛttas die Stellen im Verse an, wo lange (bez. kurze) Silben stehen; aber bei den übrigen vṛttas bedient er sich der trikas, die charakteristisch für Pingala's System sind. Letzteres hat darum Bharata zweifelsohne gekannt; die allgemeinen Grundzüge desselben befolgt er durchaus in der Einteilung und Darstellung der Metra. Aber im Einzelnen sind Abweichungen bedeutend und bedeutsam. So lehrt Pingala 73 samavṛttas, Bharata dagegen nur 49, und zudem fehlen von diesen 10 bei Pingala. Von den übereinstimmenden Metren haben viele andere Namen, nicht blos die selteren, sondern auch ganz gewöhnliche. Er gibt den Namen Haripiplutam für Drutavilambitam, Aprameyam für Bhujaṅga-prayātam, Nandimukhī für Mālinī, śrīdharā für Mandākrāntā, Vilambitagati für Pṛthvī. Bharata schöpfte also nicht unmittelbar aus Pingala, sondern traf seine Auswahl aus dem was zu seiner Zeit (offenbar lange nach Pingala) in den Schulen der Metriker gelehrt wurde. Er selbst sagt darüber

XV, 144 f. ¹ "Es gibt noch andere Metra, die hier von Gelehrten beschrieben worden sind; ich habe sie nicht genannt, weil sie nicht zur Schönheit beitragen. Alle anderen soll man als Gesangstrophen benutzen. Das Genauere über sie werde ich im Dhruvāvidhāna lehren." Man beachte, dasz das Gesagte nur von den vṛttas, zu denen auch der Śloka (XV, 116 ff.), aber nicht die Āryā-Arten (XV, 146) gehören, Geltung hat. Diejenigen vṛttas, welche Bharata im 15. Adhyāya lehrt—also muß man wohl schlieszen—sollen nicht als Gesangstrophen verwendet werden, ausgenommen sind Rathoddhatā und Pramitākṣarā (XXXII, 282, 291). Daraus folgt, dasz dergleichen, in den Dramen vorkommende Strophen nicht gesungen, sondern in Rezitativ (mit abhinaya) vorgetragen wurden.

Wir wenden uns nun zur Metrik im Dhruvādhyāya (XXXII). Zwar ist das technische Detail über die Dhruvās in der dortigen Darstelleng ohne erklärenden Commentar uns annoch unverständlich; aber es ist zweifellos, dasz es sich dabei um Verwendung der betreffenden Strophen zum Gesang handelt. Es finden sich nämlich darauf hinweisende Ausdrücke wie folgende: gīte 162, gītakavidhau 175, gītakavidhāne 196. 204, gītakabandhe 213. Dafür spricht auch, dasz die Beispiele nicht in Samskrit wie in XV, sondern in Prakrit² abgefasst sind. Diese Gesangstrophen waren nicht Bestandteile des Dramas selbst, sondern gehörten zu dem Concert, das dessen Aufführung begleitete.

Die Metrik der Gesangstrophen war wohl Gegenstand des Gāndharvaveda des Bharata und ist von der im Chandaḥśāstra gelehrtens grundsätzlich verschieden. Zwischen beiden Arten der Metrik besteht auch ein Unterschied in der Behandlung der Metra. Pingala beginnt die Aufzählung und Beschreibung der samavṛtta mit der Gāyatrī-Klasse, deren erstes Metrum Tanuma-

1. santy anyāny api vṛtlāni, yāny uktāni 'ha paṇḍitaiḥ |
na ca tāni mayo 'ktāni; na śobhāṃ janayanti hi||.

yāny atah param atra syur, gītakais tāni yojayet; |

Dhruvāvidhāne vyākhyāsyē teṣāṃ caiva vikalpanam.||

2. Über dasselbe habe ich gehandelt in Bhavisattakaha S. 84 ff.

dhyā ist, und geht dann die übrigen Klassen bis zu den 26-silbigen durch; ebenso verfährt Bharata im 15. Adhyāya. Im 32. Adhyāya beginnt dagegen die Aufzählung mit den einsilbigen und schreitet so fort bis zu den 13-silbigen. Die 5 Klassen: Ukthā, Atyukthā, Madhyā,¹ Pratiṣṭhā, und Supratiṣṭhā, die doch nur theoretische Bedeutung hatten, fehlen also in der ursprünglichen eigentlichen Metrik, die durch Pingala und Bharata's 15. Adhyāya vertreten ist. Die späteren Metriker machen aber keinen Unterschied zwischen beiden Arten von Metrik, sondern führen in ihrer Aufzählung der samavṛttas alle Metra auf, deren sie habhaft werden konnten, gleichgültig, welchen Ursprungs sie sein mochten; sie beginnen daher mit den 5 bei Pingala's fehlenden Klassen, so in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, im Vṛttarat-nākara und Prākṛta- Pingala.²

Nach den Dhruvās behandelt Bharata noch andere Klassen von Gesangstrophen, für deren Verständnis die Veröffentlichung von Abhinavagupta's Commentar abzuwarten ist. Vorläufig wage ich nur mit allem Vorbehalt die Vermutung zu äussern, dass die Prakrit Metrik, wie sie in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana Adhyāya 4 vorliegt, sich vielleicht auf der von Bharata gebotenen Grundlage entwickelt hat.

Im Anschluss an die älteren Metriker sei noch der im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. lebende Astronom Varāhamihira erwähnt. In dem 104. Adhyāya (**grahagocara**) der Brhat- Samhitā gibt er die betreffenden astrologischen Regeln in 64 Strophen von verschiedenem Metrum, wobei in jeder Strophe ihr Name genannt wird; es sind also Musterverse für diejenigen Metra, welche nach seiner Meinung ein Pandit kennen sollte, nämlich 50 samavṛttas,

1. Der Name der 3. Klasse madhyā, die Mittelste, scheint entstanden zu sein, als diese 5 Klassen noch eine Einheit für sich bildeten.

2. Es sei aber erwähnt, das Kṣemendra, dessen Suvṛttatilaka praktischen zwecken dient, seine Darstellung der Metra mit Tamumadhyā beginnt.

4 ardhasamavṛttas und die Āryā. Diese Metra erklärt Bhaṭṭotpala, der in den 60er Jahren des 10ten Jahrhunderts schrieb, in seinem Commentar mit Berufung auf einen ungenannten Ācārya; dessen Regeln sind in dem zu lehrenden Metrum abgefasst, und zwar benutzt er dazu bei den samavṛttas nicht die ganze Strophe, wie es Bharata in XXXII tut, sondern nur einen Pāda, was eben bei Verwendung der trikas möglich ist. So finden wir hierschon dieselbe Methode, die in späteren Handbüchern wie Vṛttaratnākara und Chandomanjarī befolgt wird.

DER EINFLUSS DER VOLKSPRACHE AUF DIE ZISCHLAUTE IM ZEITALTER DER ENTSTEHUNG DES R̥GVEDA

Von Prof. I. Scheftelowitz (Köln).

Bereits zur Zeit der Entstehung der Hymnen des R̥gveda waren in der damaligen Volkssprache der Inder die Zischlaute ś, ṣ und s in der Aussprache kaum unterschieden. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, dass in R̥gv. zuweilen 1.) s für urarisch ś und ṣ steht, 2.) ṣ hinter i, u für ś steht.

In denjenigen Fällen, in denen R̥v. ś sich für arisch s findet, ist es unter Einfluss eines in der folgenden Silbe desselben Wortes stehenden ś, ṣ entstanden, wie bei śvaśura (=aw. x̥vasura), śmaśru 'Bart' (airisch smeoh 'kinn'), śuśka, śuśyati (=aw. huśka, haoš'), ślakṣṇa (AV.) 'schlüpfrig, glatt': aisl. slakr 'schlaff', nd. slakk 'dicke, weiche Masse' (zum Suffix vgl. tikṣṇa 'scharf': ejate).¹

I. Beispiele, in denen R̥gv. s für ar. ś steht:—

(1) R̥gv. pāṃsurá 'staubig' pāṃsú (Av.) m. 'Staub': aw. pa.snu 'Staub'. In MBh. (Kalkuttaer Ed.) liegt die Schreibung pāṃsu vor, die aber als sekundär anzusehen ist z. B. X 9, 14: sa hato grasate pāṃsūn.

(2) R̥gv. busá n. 'das Trübe, trübes Wetter' (nur X 27, 24), nach den Lexicographen 'Abfall, Schlacke dicke Schicht der geronnenen Milch', busā 'trockener kuhdünger' (vgl. z. B. Vaijayanti 128 Z. 128; 134, Z. 283; 91 Z. 193), mi. busu, ni. buhu (Grierson. ZDMG. 50, 17). busa ist unmöglich mit Bartholomæ ZDMG. 50, 712 auf urind. br̥śa zurück zu führen und zu

(1) Vgl. hierüber Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik I 197, Osthoff, Perf. 493 f., Hirt, B. B. 24, 230, Bloomfield J. A. O. S. 13, 118, Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. 476, 491. RV. śaśvat 'wiederholt, jeder' ist schwerlich aus śaśvat entstanden, sondern gehört zu arm. sos-k 'einfach, allein, gewöhnlich'. Demnach ist das ś in śaśvat ursprünglich.

Pamir **bis**, **būs** 'Dunst, Nebel' zu stellen (vg. Johansson KZ. 36 356 f.), sondern geht auf urind. **buša** zurück: russ. **bus** 'Staubregen', **za-busēt** 'trüb, dunkel werden', **busorēt** 'grau, dunkel werden', **busol** 'schimmel, schlamm'. Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. **tāča** 'Regenwolke', russ. **tuca**: serb. **tūska** 'Schlacke, Treber', russ. **tusknut** 'trübe werden', oder slov. **kaliti se** 'trüb werden: lat **caligo** 'Nebel'.

(3) Rgv, **sūci** 'Nadel', prak. **sūi**, pali **sūci**, neben. ai. **sūka** 'Granne des Getreides, Stachel eines Insekts', aw. **sūkā** 'Nadel' Hierzu auch ai. **sūkṣma** neben **sūkṣma** 'fein, genau'. Uṇādisūtra, 4. 93 leitet **sūci** fälschlich von. **slv**+suff. **ca** ab.

(4) Rgv. **srutī** I 46, 11 wofür das Kaśmir-Ms. **śrūti** liest, was einen besseren Sinn gibt: **ādarśi vī śrutir divāḥ** 'offenbart hat sich des Himmels Segen', vgl. Rgv. II 2, 7.

Ebenso findet sich in anderen vedischen Texten s für ar. ś.

(5) **Késara** (VS.) 'Haar', aus **késara**: Rgv. **kéša** 'Haar', **keśin** 'lang haarig, haarig', alb. **k'eō** (idg. ***koiḱō**) 'schere', lit. **káisrau** 'schabe', **apkaiszti** 'abschaben' (Geitler, Lit. Stud 77).¹ Hierher gehört auch ai. **kisala**, **kisalaya** 'Schössling, Blattknospe' (Vgl. auch Vaijayantī, p. 46). Kālidāsa Megh. 21: **keśara** 'Staubfaden' ist wohl sekundäre Schreibweise. Begrifflich vgl. arv. **varəsa** 'Haar': ai. **valśa** 'schössling, Zweig'.

Bloomfield (J. A. O. S. 13) und Walde (Lat. Et. Wtb.) nehmen an, dass ai. **keśara** mit. lat. **caesaries** 'Haupthaar' verwandt sei, doch idg. ***kaisar** hätte in Lat. zu ***caerar** werden müssen (vgl. lat. **aurora**, **soror**). Lat. **caesaries** geht auf, vorlat. ***kaidh**-s-zurück: ags. **hād** 'Haar', germ. ***haid**, ndd, fries. **hæde** 'Werg, Hede', lit. **sukidēs** 'zerzaust', daneben idg. ***kidh-tōn** ***kiddhōn**, **kizdhōn**=germ. **hizdōn**, ndl. **herde** 'Haar, Werg', ags. **heorde**, engl. **hards**, **hurds** (Sievers, zum Ags. Voc. 24f., Murray V

(1) Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. **kosa** 'Haar': lit. **kasyti** 'gehinde Kratzen', gr. **kséō** 'schabe'; čech. **škutina** 'Haar-schopf': lit. **skutu** 'Kratze, schabe.'

89, Trautmann, Germ. Lautges. 33). Bisher wurde angenommen dass in Lat. *caesaries* das *s* ausnahmsweise ebenso erhalten geblieben wäre wie in lat. *miser*. Doch ist das *s* in letzterem Wort nicht ursprünglich (vgl. WZKM XXI 127).

6. *Musala* m. (AV., TS) 'Stössel, Kolben'; die in Śivapur. Adhy. 10. 53, sich findende Lesart *muśala* kann. sekundär sein: lit. *muszīkas* 'schlängel', *muszū* 'schlage', lat. *mucrio* 'scharfe Spitze.'

7. *Rāsnā* (V S.) 'Gurt': Rgv. *raśanā* 'Strick, Zügel,' np, *rāsūn* 'Strick, Zügel', arm. Lehnw. *erasan*.

(8) *Vāsā* (Kāth, A Br.) neben *vasā* (TS, SBr.), *vāśa* (AV., VII 9, 24) 'flüssiges Fett': aw. *ūōa* 'Fett', phl. *ūs*. Unmöglich ist Charpentiers zusammenstellung von ai. *vāsā* mit aw. *vohu* 'Blut', ar. *vasu*, ae. *wōs* 'Feuchtigkeit' (KZ. 46, 42)

(9) *Suka* (AV. I. 22, 4) für *śuka* (Rgv. I, 50, 12 und Paippal).

II. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. *s* für ar. *ś* steht.

(10) Rgv. *ṛbisa* 'Schlund, Erdspalte', urind. **ṛviśa* (zur Bildung vgl. *ṛjīśa*, *puriśa*: *uṣṇīśa*), lit. *ūrwa* 'Loch in der Erde', poln. *rów* 'Graben', preuss. *rawys*.

(11) Rgv. *kistā*. 'Sänger' (*Sāyana*: *udgātr*): aw. *kaēš* 'lehren', lat. *quaero*, *quaestor*, *quaestio*. Zur Bedeutung vgl. aw. *sa.h* 'lehren': ai. *sams* 'singen'; np. *āhāṅg*, *hanj* 'Belehrung, Rat', phl. *frahaxt* 'ausgebildet', ar. W. **sangh*: got. *saggws* 'Sang', ahd. *sang*, got. *siggwan*; lit. *bōti* 'fragen', gr. *φωνή* 'Stimme'.

(12) ved. *bārsva* (VS. 25, 1, Kāth. 25, 9) 'Zahnfleisch', neben *varsva* (nach Mahīdhara = *danta-piṭha*), idg. **volso*: gr. *oūlon* 'Zahnfleisch'. Betreffs der Behandlung von urgriech. *ls*, vgl. F. Sommer KZ. 32, 386 ff, Brugmann IF. 11, 208 A. Anders über *oūlon* Schwytzer KZ. 57.

(13) Rgv. *bīsa* (wofür viele Mss. *viśa* schreiben) 'Wurzelschoss' (in *bīsa-khā*, AV. *bīsa*), mi. *bīsu*, ni. *bīhū* (Grierson ZDMG. 50, 17), urind. *viśa*: lit. *wystū*, 'sich fortpflanzen',

(2). Hier ist das *k* von der Vollstufenform **kaiś* auf die Schwundenstufe **ciś* übertragen, vgl. *gītha*.

waisinḍ 'wachsen machen', **waṣius** 'Frucht'. Hierzu auch **ai**, **biṣyati** 'hervorbrechen, wachsen' (**bhedana-karman**, **vṛddhi-karman**), nur in Nir. 2. 24 überliefert.

(14) Rgv. **brṣaya** etwa 'Zauberei' und Bezeichnung eines Dämons urind. **vṛṣaya**, asl. **vlchv** 'Wahrsager', **vlṣba** 'Zauberei', russ. **volchit** 'Zauberer', wruuss **wolchwić** 'zaubern' asl. **volchvica** 'Wahrsagerin'.

III. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. **ṣ** für **ś** hinter **i**, **u** steht.

(15) Rgv. **úṣa** (X 95, 4) 'Liebhaber' (**úṣo yádi váṣti**) steht, wie bereits Grassmann erkannt hat, für **úśa**. Ebenso steht in Kaśmirischen Rgv.-Ms. I 162, 11 **uṣádbhyo** für **uśádbhyo**.¹

Ferner ist in Rgv. das auslautende **ṣ** von dem Verb **piṣ** wie **ś** behandelt worden. So lautet die 2. Sing. Inj. und Impf. **sam-piṇak** für ***sam-pinaṣ**.² In klassischer Zeit ist von dieser Wurzel ferner **apikṣam**, **pekṣyati** belegt. Ähnlich überliefern die Grammatiker von **karṣati** die Formen **akṛkṣat**, **krakṣye**, die in Anlehnung an **karṣati** gebildet sind, und von **viveṣti** (W. **viṣ**)

(1) In Rgv. I 6,3 ist **uṣádbhis** unmöglich von **uṣás** abzuleiten (vgl. Scheffelowitz, IF. XXXIII 153 f.) sondern steht für **uśádbhis**, worunter die hilfreichen Marutas zu verstehen sind, die in diesem Vers wie auch sonst häufig als **maryā** bezeichnet werden (I 61, 4; 64, 2; III 54, 13; V 53, 3; 59, 6; 61, 4; VII 50 1; X, 77, 23), den Indra stets begleiten und seine Brüder sind (vgl. I 70, 2 : **Kṛm na indra jighāṃsasi bhrātaro marútas táva**) Unter allen Gefährten, die Indra in dem Vṛtra-Kampfe beistehen, sind die Marutas die treuesten Helfer. Ein Teil der vedischen Lieder und die rituelle Literatur bringt sie so häufig in Zusammenhang, dass man die Verbindung als Gemeingut der RV. angesehen hat (Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. III 312). Der Vers I 6, 3 lautet : "Dem Lichtlosen Licht schaffend, dem Farblosen Farbe, O ihr Männer (=Marutas), wurdest du (O Indra) mit den Huldreichen (***uśádbhis**) zusammengeboren". **uśant** dient sowohl im Sg. als auch in Pl. häufig zur Bezeichnung von Göttern.

(2) Betreffs des **ṇ** vgl. Benfey S. V. Einl. XXXV. Nach Bartholomae IF. III 171 A soll "**śám piṇak** nach **prá piṇak**" gebildet sein.

die Formen **vekṣyati**, **vivikṣa**, wo das **ṣ** von der W. **viṣ** hergenommen ist. In Rg. **vividḍhi** (I 27, 10; VIII 85, 12) ist bereits das wurzelausl. **ṣ** vor dem Imp. suffix **-dhi** wie **ṣ** behandelt ¹

Patañjali Mahābhāṣyam (ed. Kielhorn, I 24) macht ausdrücklich darauf aufmerksam, dass man in der Aussprache **ṣ** und **ś** verwechsle, weshalb man **ṣaṣa** für **śaṣa** und **palāṣa** für **palāśa** sagt. Jabāla Upan. 2 bezeugt ferner, dass **ṣ** als **s** gesprochen wurde. Darauf beruhen z. B. Schreibungen wie **suṣi**, **suṣira** (Āp śr.) "Höhlung" neben älterem **śuṣi**, **śuṣira** (l. **cavus**); **śraṃsayitvā** (AV IV, 16,7) für **sraṃsayitvā**, **śrgāla** (Manu IX, 30) für älteres **śrgāla**; **sveta** (Bhāvaprak., p. 102) für älteres **śveta** **caturasram** (Saubhāgyalakṣmī Up., in 108 Upaniṣads ed. Pāṇḍuraṅg Jāwajī, Bombay, 1925, 549) für **caturaśram**; **vaṃśiṣiṣya** (AV. IX, 1, 14; 16, 9, 4) für **vaṃśiṣiṣya** (Opt. Aor. von **van**); **kūṣmā** (MS.) für Rgv. **kūśma**; **sikṣasi** (Vāḷakhilya III 6; IV 8 in den Rgv. Mss. Brit. Mus. Add. 5351, India Office 2131) für **śikṣasi**. **Vaśiṣṭha** (Bhav. Pur. 139, 54.; 140, 30; III 1, 47; IV 53, 23) für **Vaśiṣṭha**; **visrabdhāḥ** (Ram. II of) für **viśrabdhāḥ**; **santva**, **santvā** 'Beschwichtigung' aus **śantva**, **śantva**; **sāri**, **sārikā** 'Krähe' für **śāri**, **śārikā** : lat. **corvus**. Weitere Beispiele über die Verwechslung der 3 Zischlaute in nachvedischer Zeit habe ich in WZKM. XXI 132 behandelt.

(1) Vgl. ferner Scheftelowitz WZKM. XXI, 125 fg. In Rv. **kóśa** 'Kufe' ist das **ṣ** ursprünglich (vgl. daselbst 127). Jünger ist die Schreibung **kośa**, die zuerst in Praiśādhyāya (Ed. Scheftelowitz, Apokryphen d. Rgv.) VII 1 f, T Br. III 6, 2, MS. IV 13, 2 belegt ist und zwar in dem Wort **akośadhāvanir** (**duras**) "die umgebogen gehenden (Türen)".— **ṣaṣṭha** (lat. **sextus**) aus ***sakṣ-ṭha** **ṣaṣṭi** aus **sakṣ-ṭi**. Nach analogie von **caturtha pañcama**, **saptama**: **catur**, **pañca**, **sapta** hat sich aus **ṣaṣṭha** die Lautform **ṣaṣ** entwickelt, die das ursprüngliche ***sakṣ** verdrängt.

THE WORD ARI' IN THE R̥GVEDA SAMHITA

K. Chattopādhyāya.

अरिभ्यं नमस्कृत्य राघवमार्यभूभृतम् ।

अरिशब्दार्थयुग्मस्य निरुक्तेर्निर्णये यते ॥

बाह्वृचे संहिताग्रन्थे शब्दोऽयमार्यसम्मतः ।

भूयश्च शत्रुपर्यायः शौमेरादिप्रभावितः ॥

It is well known to students of the R̥gveda saṁhitā that the word ARI' has been used in it in both a good and a bad sense, either as meaning 'active', 'pious', 'a pious man', etc., or as 'niggardly', 'godless', 'a niggard or an ungodly man', 'a foe'. etc. This strange phenomenon has exercised the brains of several scholars,* but the riddle of how a word could have such contradictory meanings in texts of the same period still remains unsolved. It has been proposed to analyse the word as a-r i', originally meaning 'having no wealth' and having the regular accent of a Bahuvrihi with the privative particle a-. The word is then believed to run in two different channels, in one 'having no wealth' coming to mean 'meek' or 'humble' > 'a suppliant' > 'a worshipper of the gods' > 'a pious man' > 'a noble man' and in the other 'a niggard' > 'an envious being' > 'a bad person' > 'a foe'. This is highly ingenious no doubt but fails to give conviction. It is the first series which is unconvincing. Passage from 'having no wealth' to 'worshipping' is hard to see in view of the fact that the R̥ksaṁhitā priest often praised his gods for the benefit of his rich patron. Besides this, passages like 1-150-1, pur ú tvā dā ś v ā'n vo ce a r i' ḥ, where dā ś v ā'n = 'giving' goes along with a r i' ḥ make it impossible, as Neisser points

1. Grassman, *Woerterbuch zum R̥veda*, 105-6.

2. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, 72ff., Oldenberg, *Z. D. M. G.*, 54. 177ff. *R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten*. I. 384, II. 28 and *passim*, Bergaigne, *Études sur le lexique du R̥g-veda*, 182, Ghate *Lectures on the R̥gveda* (Ied.), 121-7, Neisser, *Zum Woerterbuch des R̥gveda*, 98ff, *et cetera*,

out', that a r i' ḥ should mean 'having no wealth'. The second series of meanings is, however, more readily comprehensible. 'Having no wealth' can easily mean 'having no wealth to give to others' > 'a niggard', as 'm a g h a' v a n t' means 'having wealth' > 'having wealth to give to others' = 'bounteous'. The major portion, if not the whole of the Rksamhitā, being a priestly composition, it is but natural that 'the niggard' (=refusing Bloomfield's buksheesh) should become a type of all that is bad.

The references for the two sets of meanings are: —

(1) In Good Sense:

I-4-6, 70-1, 71-3, 122-14, 150-1, 184-1, 185-9; III-43-2; IV-2-18, 4-6 (†); V-48-5, 54-12; VI-25-7, 45-33, 51-2; VII-8-1, 34-18, 60-11, 92-4; VIII-1-4, 54-9, 61-16, 83-3; Vāḷakhilya 3-9; X-27-8, 28-1, 39-5, 86-1, 3, 148-3.

(2) In Bad Sense.

I-73-5, 118-9, 169-6 (†); II-8-2, 12-4, 5, 23-13, IV-16-19, 20-3, 29-1, 50-11; V-2-12, 33-2; VI-13-5, 14-3, 15-3, 16-27, 20-1, 24-5, 36-5, 48-16, 59-8; VII-21-9, 31-5, 34-10, 43-3, 56-22, 68-2, 83-5, 97-9; VIII-21-6, 24-22, 33-14, 39-2, 48-8, 49-12, 55-12; IX-23-3, 61-11, 79-1, 3; X-42-1, 59-3, 115-3, 116-6, 133-3; to which may possibly be added I-33-31, I-121-15, VI-47-9 and X-191-1.⁴

A R I' in a good sense seems connected with a r y a'⁵

3. *Op cit.*, p. 98.

4. The above references are not copied verbatim from Grassmann. I looked up all these passages and succeeded in checking some of his mistakes. The same remark also applies to the other references in this paper.

5. I 33-3 (†). 81-6, 9, 121-15 (†); II-23-15, 35-2; IV-1-7, 2, 12, 16-17, 24-8; V-33-6, 9, 34-9, 75-7 (a r y ā'; VI-47-9 (†)-86-7; VII-21-5, 64-3, 65-2, 86-7, 100-5; VIII-1-34, 19-36, 52-7; Vāḷakh. 3-9, 6-7; X-20-4; 27-19, 34-13, 76-2, 89-3, 191-1 (†). Of all these passages I-33-3, I-121-15, VI-47-9, and X-191-1 may possibly have a r y a' ḥ as gen. sg. of a r i' = 'foe' or 'niggard', instead of masc. sg. of a r y a' — 'the excellent one'

'kind', 'benevolent', 'righteous', 'pious' *et cetera* and *ā'rya* ('Aryan' as an adjective and a noun) in the Rv. S. and *airya* and *ariya* of the Avesta and the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. We should follow Neisser's suggestion⁷ in adding to the etymology the Greek word *ἄριστος*, meaning 'noblest', 'best of its kind' which is believed to be one of the irregular superlatives of *ἀγαθός*, it being further assumed that "In the early prim. Indg. period the comparative and superlative stood in no grammatical relation to the so-called positive."⁸ I cannot, however, help feeling that it was not so and it is on account of the disappearance of words that we cannot always find the corresponding positive or superlative bases in Greek or other languages. The Sanskrit language gives abundant illustration of the former existence of words and forms which recur later only in special combinations, e. g., *puṣpadhanvan* (showing the old *d h a' n v a n* = bow), *yuva-jāni* (the old *ja'ni* = woman). I have, therefore, no hesitation in taking *ἄριστος* to be a superlative from a stem **āpī.* or **āpi.* The accent is on the first syllable (or third from the end) as in *μέγιστος* (= *mahiṣṭha*, from *μέγας* = Vedic *ma h a' h* and *ma g h a' h* with accent on the second syllable), *ῥᾶριστος* (= *s v ā' d i ṣ ṭ h a h* with accent on the first syllable, though the positive *s v ā d u' h*, Greek *ῥᾶς*, has accent on the second syllable, *ἐλαχίστος* (= *laghiṣṭha*) *et cetera*. The passage from 'noble' to 'Aryan' in *ārya*, *airya* or *ariya* is very natural under the influence of race pride and, it is possible that *a ri'* has got that sense in some passages of the Rgveda samhitā.⁹

6. I-51-8, 59-2, 96-3, 103-3, 117-21, 130-8, 156-5; II-11-18, 19; III-34-9; IV-26-2, 30-18; V-34-6; VI-18-3, 22-10, 25-2, 33-3, 60-6; VII-5-6, 18-7, 83-1; VIII-24-27, 92-1; Vālakhilya 3-9; IX-63-5, 14, X-11-4, 38-3, 43-4, 49-3, 65-11, 69-6, 83-1, 86-19, 102-3, 138-3.

7. *Op. cit.*

8. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*. 378. See also Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik d. indg. Sprachen*, 391.

9. E.g. in VI-45-33.

I have already said that *a r i'* in a bad sense is a Bahuvrīhi formed from *a-*(='not') and *ri* (weak form in compound of *rai*, *rayi*-‘wealth’, as in *b r h a' d-ri et cetera*). The usual sense is that of ‘a niggard’ but sometimes the meaning seems to be ‘a foe.’ In many cases it is difficult to ascertain whether the poet meant ‘a niggard (or envious being)’ or ‘a foe’. The sense of ‘foe’ really constitutes a difficulty, because the passage from ‘niggard’ to ‘foe’ is not so easy as from ‘moneyless’ to ‘niggard’ and we have other words in the Rv. S. for an enemy, *v r t r a'*, *d v e' ś a s et cetera*. In the later language, of course, *ari* means ‘an enemy’ and that alone, but this gives us no help for its correct etymology. *A r i'* = ‘enemy’ in the R̥gvedasāmbhitā has, therefore, remained a great problem with me for a number of years.

Recently some solution of the difficulty has seemed within sight. A somewhat similar word seems to have existed in the old Sumerian language, which Gadd¹⁰ transliterates as *erim*² and Langdon¹¹, earlier, as ¹*ari*. It will be recalled that Hall threw out a suggestion years ago that the old Sumerians were connected with the Dravidians of India¹² and several scholars have in recent times followed him and believed, further, in the Sumerian affinity of the dwellers of the pre-historic Indus basin. It must be admitted that connexion of the Sumerians with the Dravidians or with the pre-historic inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro, Lar-kana, Harappa etc. has not been proved. Keith's statement, however, that the facial aspect of the Sumerian *patesi* Gudea in his statues seems to be “wholly un-Dravidian”¹³ cannot be accepted, for we do come across such types among Dravidians and I have myself seen a number of Dravidians with the receding fore-

10. **Sumerian Reading Book**, pp. 2, 65 and ff. and L82.

11. **Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy**, p. 203. So also Delitzsch in **Sumerisches Glossar**, p. 10 (I a-ri).

12. See his **Ancient History of the Near East**⁵, pp. 173-4.

13. **Religion and philosophy of the Vedas**, Vol. I, p. 10 n. 1.

head and peculiar skull we find in the Sumerian sculptures.¹⁴ Regarding the further connexion of the Sumerians with the pre-historic dwellers of the Indus basin, I may say that a bust I saw in the Mohenjo-daro Museum in November, 1928, appeared in my eyes as having strong resemblances with Sumerian statues like those of Gudea.¹⁵ G. A. Barton in his recent article in the J. A. O. S., "Whence came the Sumerians?"¹⁶ has combated the Indian hypothesis.¹⁷ But his objection that not all the signs in the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro agree with Sumerian signs creates no great difficulty for we may have here an earlier or a later or a different settlement of the same people and some differences in writing would be inevitable under the circumstances. Consequently the hypothesis that before the advent of the Aryans, the Punjab was inhabited by a people having Sumerian affinities seems still possible or even likely. Consequently a native word *ari* or *erim*, meaning 'foe', could easily affect Aryan usage and give to *a-r i*='a niggard' the occasional sense of a 'foe', which had the good fortune of surviving as the only meaning of the word in later Sanskrit, to the exclusion of 'a niggard' and of the good sense, 'a kind' or 'noble person'.

14. I must confess that I do not very much believe in identification of races of very different periods on purely anthropometrical grounds, for emigrants have been known to have changed their skulls in a few generations under the influence of the new environment. See Franz Boas, *Changes in the Bodily Form of Immigrants* (Columbia University Press, 1912). Besides this there is always in such cases admixture of blood with other races with a resultant physical change. It cannot be assumed that the present day speakers of Dravidian tongues carry *cent per cent* Dravidian blood. The only safe method that can be pursued for proving or disproving the Sumerian affinity of the Dravidians is linguistic. But for this we require trained linguists, possessing deep first hand knowledge of both the languages and not a Waddell or a Vaidyanatha Ayyar. It may be noted here that like Sumerian, Dravidian languages are agglutinating.

15. See **Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26, Plate XXVIII.**

16. Vol. 49 pp. 263 ff.

17. pp. 264-6.

Another classical word for 'foe' is *arāti*, which we find in the Rv. S. usually as an abstract or action noun, meaning 'niggardliness', 'envy', 'hostility', etc.,¹⁸ but also as a concrete noun, meaning 'godless person', 'demon' or 'demoness' and 'enemy'.¹⁹ The accent is on the first syllable in both the cases. Consequently we cannot understand the *samāsa* as a '*Bahuvrīhi*', even for the sense of 'enemy'. The change of meaning from 'hostility' to 'a hostile being', without a shift of accent, is probably due to personification, the transition being indicated by the meaning of 'demon' or 'demoness'. We may find a parallel in *dvēṣas*, which is used in the Rv. S. for both 'animosity' and 'enemy'.²⁰ It is possible, however, that *a'rāti* and *dvēṣas* as concrete nouns have been influenced by *arī* as a concrete noun meaning 'a foe', because abstract or action nouns (at least those ending in *-as* or *-an*) usually shift the accent to the final syllable, when meaning concrete or agent nouns.²¹

The Sumerian word that has been suggested above as affecting the meaning of the Vedic word *arī* seems to be a native Sumerian word, for though there is a word in that language with the same phonetic value but written differently—its meaning being 'man', 'servant', 'soldier', 'army',²² (1) there seems to be some pictographic connexion between the signs of the two words, (2) the sense 'army' seems to supply the connecting link between 'man' and 'foe' and (3) *ur*,²² 'to bristle', seems to be the

18. I-29-4; II-7-2, 35-6; IV-4-4, 50-11; V-53-14; VI-53-14; VI-16-27, 44-9, 48-16, 59-8; VII-83-3, 5, 97-9; VIII-39-2, 48-3, 60-1; IX-79-3; X-34-14, 63-12, 133-3.

19. I-43-8, 99-1 (*arātīyātāḥ*); II-33-9; III-18-1; V-2-6; VI-4-5; VII-1-7; IX-96-15, 97-10; X-85-32.

In III-24-1, IV-26-7, IV-27-2, IX-79-1 and X-57-1, *a'rāti* may possibly be a concrete noun but this is not certain and I-116-21, III-23-5,9, VIII-9-1, VIII-11-3 and VIII-60-4 are wholly doubtful.

20. Grassmann, *Woerterbuch zum Rigveda*, 653.

21. See Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 453.

22. Gadd, *Sumerian Reading Book*, pp. 2 and 182.

root behind both the words.²³ Variety of signs with identical phonetical value is a too well known phenomenon in the Sumerian language to make Gadd's 'erim or Langdon's 'ari a non-Sumerian word.

In conclusion, I wish to remind students of the *Rksamhitā* that other non-Aryan words have been believed to occur in the *Rv. S.*, e.g., *m a n ā* of VIII-67-2, meaning 'a weight or an ornament', connected with the Babylonian word *minu* or *ma-na*²⁴ (from which we have Greek *μνᾶ* and Latin *mina*); we find this latter word also in Sumerian (e.g., in the Inscription of Sin-gashid, king of Erech²⁵ as *ma-na*.)²⁶ It should be noted that *m a n ā*²⁷ occurs only once in the *Rv. S.* and that in the Eighth Book, which for various reasons appears to be a later collection than the rest of the work except Book X. This Eighth Book has also strong western affinities,²⁷ which would make the occurrence of a Sumerian or Babylonian word in it easily intelligible. The other word *manā* occurring four times in the *Rv. S.* thrice means 'devotion or' 'attachment' (I-173 2, IV-33-2 and X-6-3) and once 'wrath' or some such thing (in II-33-5, in connexion with Rudra). In the previous case derivation from $\sqrt{\text{man}}$ to 'think' > 'to worship' is quite evident. The same etymology seems possible in the latter case too, in view of the fact that *m a n y u* in the *Rv. S.* means both 'ardour' and 'wrath'. It is, however, tempting to connect *m a n ā* of II-33-5 with the Melanesian word *mana*, well

23. It is at least so for *ari* = 'foe', according to Langdon, *loc. cit.* Delitzsch gives a root II *ar-i* 'to devastate' (*loc. cit.*)

24. King, *First Steps in Assyrian*. p. 291 (k. 251, l. 6).

25. Gadd, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 51 (l. 9).

26. See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte der alten Orient* part 1, p. 228 n. 1, S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I pp. 27-8-n.

27. See Hopkins in *J.A.O.S.*, XVII, pp. 81ff. In the *Avesta* *minu* occurs twice (Yāst V. 127 and XVII. 10) in the sense of a necklace. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Woerterbuch*, 1186, under *minav* with note,

known to anthropologists, meaning a mysterious power inhering in a person or object coming in whose contact a man may injure himself.²⁸ The researches of J. Przyluski and following him, of Sunitikumar Chatterji, have abundantly made clear the Austric affinities of many neo-Indian words, which shows that the Austric peoples must have once inhabited India. I am not in a position to determine whether the Melanesian word *mana* is an Aryan loan word or the Vedic word *manā'* of II-33-5 is of Austric origin, but the former may be the right view, because of the double usage of the word *man y u'* in Rv. S.²⁹ and the capability of *man* 'to think' of lending itself to the meanings of both good and bad thinking. *A r i'*, however, can hardly have come from a root that can give both 'noble man' and 'foe'.

Post-script.—The above paper was written more than three years ago. Since then I have felt that Indo-European etymology of *arī*='foe' is not absolutely wanting. First of all, we have *arika*='inimically disposed' in Ancient Persian (Behistun IV l. 13) though Bartholomae (*Altir wörterbuch*, 189) connects it with Av. *ayra* (=skt. *asra*?). One may also think of Greek *ερίς* = 'strife' though Brugmann, (*kurze vergleichende Gramatik* §426), Uhlenbeck *Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch d ai Sprache* 13 and others have doubted the connexion. It is possible that *arī* = 'noble' and *arī*='foe' of Veda come from two distinct I.E. words of somewhat similar sound. The question is however wrapped in a good deal of obscurity. I allow this paper to be published because the sumerian affinity pointed out above is interesting and may be suggestive to those who believe in a prehistoric contact between Indo-European and Sumerian.

28. See Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*,² 12ff, *et passim*.

29. Compare also English *passion*, which has been used both in a good and a bad sense.

PANINI'S GRAMMAR AND THE INFLUENCE OF PRAKRIT ON SANSKRIT.

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It is well-known that Prakritisms are found even in the Vedic language. That it has exercised a great influence also on classical Sanskrit can be shown, among others, from the grammar of Pāṇini himself. A few instances from that work are given in the following lines.

It is a general rule (VIII. 3. 23) that *m* followed by a consonant becomes *ṃ*; e. g. *vanam* (for *vanam*) *hasati*. But when after *m* there is *h* followed by *m*, the first *m* becomes *ṃ* as usual, or it may remain unchanged; e. g. *kim* before *hmalayati* may be either *kiṃ* or remain as *kim* there being no change whatsoever in the second case. But why? It is quite evident from the very observation of Pāṇini that in his time in the country or in a particular part of it the sound *hm* was in many cases not pronounced as it should have been; i. e. first *h* and then *m* uttered in a syllable; but it was pronounced as *mh* owing to metathesis (*varṇa-viparyaya*) as in Prakrit and Indo-Aryan vernaculars. For instance, Skt. *brāhmaṇa*, Pkt. *bamhaṇa*, Bihāri *bāmhan*.

Similarly the origin of the next sūtra *na pare naḥ*, (VIII. 3. 27) of Pāṇini where he says that *m* before *h* which is followed by *n* may optionally change to *n* (e. g. *kim* before *hnute* may be either *kim* or *kin*) is the same fact, that is to say, in Pāṇini's time some used to pronounce *hn* as *nh*; and he had to take cognizance of it in his grammar. Cf. Skt. *cinna*; 'mark', Pkt. *cinha* (and *cindha*), Od., Beng. *cinha*, Skt. *vahni* 'fire', Pkt. *vaṇhi*.

Kātyāyana noticed such metatheses in three cases more and added here a short sentence saying that *m* before *k* which is followed by *y*, *v*, or *l* optionally changes to them respectively (*yavalapare yavalā vā*, VIII. 3); e. g. *kim* before *hyah*,

hvalayati, and **hlādayati** may be **kiy̐**, **kiṽ**, and **kil̐** respectively. This clearly shows that, as in Pkt. and modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, (i) **hy** was often pronounced as **yh**; (ii) **hv** as **vh**; and (iii) **hl** as **lh**. Cf. (i) Skt. **guhya**, Pkt. **gujjha** (<*gujha* <*guyha*), Beng. **gujjha**) Panj. **gujjhā**, Sind. **gujho**, Guj. **guj**, Mar. **gūj**; Skt. **nahyati**, Pkt. **ṇajjhai**; (ii) Skt. **jihvā**, Pali **jivhā**, Pkt. **jibbhā** (and **jihā**), Beng. **jibbhā** (**jibh**); (iii) Skt. **āhlāda**, Pkt. **alhāda**.

Such euphonic combinations (*sandhi*) as **prejate** (for **pra+ejate**), not **praijate**; or **upoṣati** (for **upa+oṣati**), not **upauṣati** (according to Pāṇini VI. 1. 94); or **adyom** (for **adya+om**), not **adyaum**; or **adyodhā** (for **adya+odhā**, **odhā=ā+ūdhā**), (not **adyaudhā** (in accordance with VI, 1. 95) are instances of Prakritism. It is well known that such forms abound in Pali and Pkt. Kātyāyana notices some other forms of the kind and gives a few examples saying that when ascertainment is not meant (**anyoge**) the forms like **iheva** (for **iha+eva**), and **adyeva** (for **adya+eva**.) instead of **ihaiva** and **adyaiva** respectively are quite correct. Similarly such words as **sthūlotu** beside **sthūlautu**, **bimboṣṭhi** beside **bimbaṣṭhi** are admissible. For such uses in the Vedic language one may be referred to the *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya* X.14; Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar* §70.2 (p. 64). He notices also a group of other words which are formed according to the rules of *sandhi* in Pali or Pkt. This group is known to the grammarians as **Śakandhvadi** which includes words like **sāraṅga** (for **sāra+aṅga**), **haliṣā** (for **hala+iṣā**), etc. besides **śakandhu** (for **śaka+andhu**). Later grammarians take this **gaṇa** or group as an **ākṛti-gaṇa** meaning thereby that it does not include only the words which are actually enumerated in it, but also others found in use in literature.

The phenomenon of **ya-śruti** in Pkt. hardly needs any special mention. The literal sense of the word is 'hearing of **y**.' But, in fact, it implies that the **y** meant here is not a *fully* pronounced **y**, but only, so to say, the '*hearing*' of it; i.e. **y** which is

uttered with a slighter effort (*laghuprayatnatara-yakāra-śrutir bhavati*. —Hemacandra, VIII 1. 180; Laksmīdhara, I. 3. 10).

Now according to Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 for *kaḥ āste* we have *kay āste* (ḥ drops and the hiatus is filled up by *y*). So far as Pāṇini is concerned there is nothing to show that this *y* is not a fully pronounced one. But in accordance with Śākaṭāyana quoted by Pāṇini himself (VIII 3. 18) and Vātsapra mentioned in the *Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā*, X.23, thus *y* is *laghu-prayatnatara* 'uttered with a slighter effort.' It is sometimes called *leśa*¹ or 'attenuation' of *y* (*Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā*, X.23, see Whitney: *Atharvaveda Prātis'ākhyā*, II. 24), and is, in fact, nothing but the *ya-śruti* of the Prakrit grammarians.

It may be gathered from the above that *ŷ* (or *laghuprayatnatara y*, or *leśa* of *y*, or *ya-śruti*) of Śākaṭāyana and Vātsapra changed to a fully-developed *y* when Pāṇini wrote his grammar. But according to Śākalya, as says Pāṇini himself (VIII 3.19), in such cases there was no sound either as *ŷ* or as *y*². Gārgya a predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini is, however, of opinion that only in certain cases that sound is not heard.

All this is quite in agreement with Pkt. in some of the dialects of which there is *ŷ*- while in others it is not.

The case is exactly the same with regard to *v* or *v* (*leśa* of *v*) though there is some difference of opinion according to different authorities.

It may be noted here that it is in this way that such forms as *devayoh* (for *deva*+*-os*, gen. or loc. dual), *dāyin* (for *√dā*+*-in*), *vāyu* (for *√vā*+*-u*), etc. or again *bhūvādayah* (for *bhū*+*ādayaḥ*; Pāṇini, I. 3. 1) can very satisfactorily be explained.

(¹) The word *leśa* is explained by a commentator saying *luptavad uccāraṇam*, while another says *ekadeśo yathokta-viśaye lupyate, ekadeśaḥ śrūyate*.

(²) The same view is held also by the author of the *Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā* (X. 19); while Mācakiya says that after *a* or *ā* *y* and *v* followed by *u* or *o* are dropped (*Op. cit* X. 22)

AŚOKAN VASA- 'YEAR'.

R. L. Turner.

The Sanskrit word for 'rain', *vārṣa*- (n., later m.) in the Brāhmaṇas acquires the meaning 'year', for which it becomes the most usual word. But it retained the meaning 'rain', especially in certain compounds, such as *prabandha-varṣa*, *vāta-varṣa*-; and in the plural it continued to mean 'the Rainy Season.' The feminine *varṣā*-, usually in the plural, means only 'rain, Rainy Season.'

In Pali *vassa*- n. means both 'rain' and 'year'; but the plural *vassā* (m? or <Sk. f. pl. *varṣāḥ*?) means only 'the Rainy Season'.

There seems, then, to be already a certain tendency towards differentiation, viz. *vārṣa*- n. 'year', *varṣa*- m. and *varṣā*- f. 'rain'. This is continued in Singhalese *vas* 'year' (<*vārṣa*-)¹, but *vasi* 'rain', (<**varṣikā*-enlargement of *varṣā*. or <*vārṣika*-).

Elsewhere other means were used to avoid confusion. The Inscriptions of Aśoka unfortunately do not contain the word for 'rain'; but they have three divergent forms for 'year', a study of which discloses the same striving after differentiation.

In the Girnar inscription 'year' is *vāsa*-. This cannot be from Sk. *vārṣa*-², which would have become *vasa*- (i. e. *vassa*-). In the Eastern Inscriptions a long vowel before two consonants is shortened; but in Girnar it remains long, e. g. *nāsti* <Sk. *nāsti*, *ātpa*-<*ātma*-. We may therefore read *vāsa*- as *vāssa*- and derive it from Sk. *vārṣā*- yearly. As in several other cases

¹ Replaced in the modern language by *avurudda*. <* *havadura*-, loanword from Pa. *saṃvacchara*-.

² As maintained among others, by Michelson, JAOS. 1911, p. 236; and in the last instance by Hultzsch, Inscr. of Aś., p. LIX. I have shown in Bull. SOS. VI. 2 that *kāṣati* 'will do', sometimes quoted in support of the hypothesis that *ass* > *ās*, is probably to be read *kāṣṣati* and is certainly a future made on the pattern of **dāṣṣati* <Sk. *dūṣyāti*,

(e.g. Sk. *bailvā*, which in Pk. *bella*-, Hi. *bel* etc. supplants *bilva*-) the Vṛddhi adjective was used to form a substantive, which with its long vowel provided a word distinct from *vassa*- 'rain' (<Sk. *vārṣa*-, *varṣā*-),

Whether *vaṣa*- of Shah. Man is to be read *vaṣṣa*- or *vāṣṣa*-, we cannot say in the absence of any modern form for 'year' from this word. *vāṣṣa*- may have existed, but subsequently been driven out of use by collision, e.g. in Sindhi, with a loanword of the type *vāsu* m. 'scent'. But the apparently complete absence of a descendant of *vāṣṣa*- in all NW. languages renders it probable that the form is to be read as *vaṣṣa*.

The forms of the Eastern group- *vaśa*-, *vaṣa*-, and *vasa* (i.e. *vaṣṣa*-, etc.)- may be derived from earlier *vāssa*-, and have then fallen together with *vaśṣa*-<*vārṣa*-. But we have no criterion for deciding.

In Girnar, in one instance, there appears another form, viz. *varsa*-, in place of the usual *vāsa*- (*vāssa*-). Here is another device to find a form for the word for 'year' different from that for 'rain', namely the borrowing of a learned Sanskrit form.

It is this procedure which has been generally adopted (subsequently to the Aśokan Inscriptions) in most Indo-Aryan areas to provide a word for 'year': Pk. *varisa*- m,n.; Rom. eur. *berš* m., Syr. *wars*, Shina *bāriṣ* (pl. *bōrizi*) m., Kash *warihy*, waharm. W. Pab. pād. cam. *barh*, Nep. *barsa* Ass. *barih*, Bg. *barih*, Or. *barsa*, Hi. *baras* m., Pj. *varah* m., Si. *varhyu* m., Guj. *varas* n., Mar. *varis* n.

In distinction to this the North-West preserves *vārṣa*-, *varṣā*- in the sense of 'rain': Ka'asha *bashik* 'cloud', Torwali *baṣā* m. 'Summer' (?), Kash. *woṣu* m. 'shower'. Si. *vasa* f. 'rain'.

In Shina, where it might collide with *baṣ* f. 'language' (<*bhāṣā*-), it has been replaced by *śzū* m. <Sk. *abhrā*- n, m, or *ārdra*- (cf. *śzū* adj. 'wet').

In Lahndā and Panjabi, where it might collide with *vass* m. 'power' (<Sk. *vaśya*- n. ?), it has been replaced by *mēh* m. Sk. < *meghā*- m. 'cloud'.

In the Centre, South, and East, where ML. *vassa*-> **vās*, **bās*-would certainly collide with *vās*, *bās* <Sk. *vāśā*-, it has been replaced in various ways.

In Marathi the compound *prāvṛṣi*- m. 'the Rainy Season' provides a general term for 'rain', viz. *pāūs* m. (Hi. *pāwas* m. and Guj. *pāvas* m. retain the meaning 'Rainy Season'). In Gujarati another compound, *varsūl* m. (<OGuj. *varasūt*, cf. Sk. *varṣārātra*- and see below), is the usual word for 'rain'. Hindi, like Lahnda and Panjabi, uses *mēl* m. <*meghā*-. In Nepali *pāni* (<Sk. *pāṇīya*-n.) is the general term for rain; the corresponding word *pāni* m. is also so used in Hindi. Bengali has *jal* (<Sk. *jala*-, or perhaps loanword) or the Sanskrit loanword *br̥ṣṭi* or *bisti*. Only in Nepali, and there only in the compound *bāsi-bido* 'cessation of the Rains', does *varṣā*- or *vārṣika*- survive.

In Prakrit the loanward *varisa*- means both 'year' (see above) and 'rain': in the modern Indo-Aryan languages the meaning, as we have seen, is restricted to 'year'. But the compound *varisāratta*- n. (formed after Sk. *varṣā-rātri*- f., *varṣā-rātra*-n. : Pa. *vassāratta*-n.), in which the *varisa*- 'rain' is not liable to be confused with *varisa* 'year', remains in a number of languages in the sense of 'the Rainy Season', viz. Kash. *waharāth* (dat. *waharōiū*) f. Guj. *varsād* m. (only 'rain'), Nep. Hi. *barsūt* f., Bg. *barisā*, Or. *barasā*.¹

The verb *vārṣati*> Pa. *vassati* survives in the North-West: Kash. *waśun*, Lah. *vassan*., Si. *vasaṇu*. But in the Centre, South and East, where *vass*-> **vās*-, **bās*-would collide with *vās*- *bās*- < *vāsayati* and *vāśyate*, it is descendants of Pk.

1. With-ā <-ātra-, as in Pk. *amg. rāi* <*rātri*-, Sgh. *pā* <*pātra*-.

varisaū (loanword from Sk. **várṣati**) which are employed: Kū. **barsaṇo**, Nep. **barsanu**, Ass. **barahiba**, Or. **barasibā**, Hi. **barasnā**, Guj. **varasvū**, Mar. **varasṇē**. This extends even into Panjabi with **varhṇā**: for here **vass-** 'to rain' collides with **vassṇā** 'to stop'.

Finally, though **varisa-** loses its meaning 'rain', there is no likelihood of confusion between the verb **varisaū** 'rains' and the substantive **varisa-** 'year'.

[Contributed in 1930.]

DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSION OF THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHA¹

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Up to the present texts of four versions of the Kālakācārya-kathā or °kathānakam have been published, three of these from single manuscripts, the fourth in a more or less critical edition; in addition there is a Kālakasūriprabandha in the Prabhāvaka-carita.² Other versions are in existence, represented by numerous Mss. in Jaina bhaṇḍāra and in other collections in India, Europe, and America. Many of these I have photographed, or copied, or collated with manuscripts already transcribed by me, and most of these versions, I shall, in due course, publish. In addition there are a number of references to Kālaka in Jaina works, giving incidents from the Kālakācāryakathā and in some cases additional information. Such references as I have found will, in their proper place, be incorporated in a study of the Kālaka cycle. In this paper I propose to present only a critical edition with translation and a few notes of one version of the Kālakācārya legend, namely that composed as a summary (saṃkṣepataḥ) by the sūri Dharmaprabha in the Saṃvat year 1389.

(1) This edition and translation of Dharmaprabhasūri's version of the Kālakācāryakathā is a portion of a study of the Kālaka cycle made by me during the year 1928-29 as a fellow on the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The materials were mostly collected in India.

(2) The editions to which reference is made are; (1) "Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam", by Professor Jacobi in ZDMG 34. 247-318 (cf. ZDMG 35. 675-679); (2,3) "Zwei weitere Kālaka-Legenden", by Professor Ernst Leumann in ZDMG 37. 493-520; (4) Sri-Kālakācāryakathā, being in appendix to the Sri-Kalpa-sūtra, vol. 18 of the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series, Bombay, 1914. (This is a brief Sanskrit version in 65 stanzas); (5) Prabhāvakacarita, ed. Pandit Hirananda M. Sharma, Bombay. Tukaram Javaji. 1909 (pp. 36 ff.) The name Kālaka alternates with the form Kālaka.

This version is one of the two published by Professor Leumann from single Mss. and without translation. His Ms. gave no indication of the date of composition and contained a number of false readings which can now be corrected. A number of errors in his Ms. were successfully emended by him, as will appear in my critical notes. By a strange coincidence the other version published by Professor Leumann bears a peculiar relation to that of Dharmaprabha. It is the version ascribed to Bhāvadeva sūri, whose date was unknown to Professor Leumann in 1883 when he published the text, but who flourished in **Samvat 1312¹**, sixty-seven years before Dharmaprabha. Bhāvadeva composed his *Kālikācāryakathānakam* in **śloka** metre; Dharmaprabha, as seems obvious from a comparison of the texts, largely based his version on Bhāvadeva's or one very close to it, abbreviated, changed the metre to āryā, with a few other metres used sporadically, and added one onomatopoeic stanza describing the rainy season. The most important differences between the two are in proper names. I have not published Bhāvadeva's version here but shall perhaps do so elsewhere, as I already have the materials at hand for a critical edition.

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha's text, I have used five Mss. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated A and B), yet all seem to come from a common source for all seem to have common corruptions, namely in stanza 9 **nomūlemi** for **nommūlemi**; in stanza 20, where all read **patto** instead of **patte**; and in stanza 41, where all read **suttim** for **mottum**. For differences between A and B. see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, et **passim**.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition.

A / Lohar Pol Bhandar (Ahmedabad), No. 33-3-3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra*. Dated **Samvat 1513**.

(1) See in Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pāṇḍavātha* (Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), p. 3.

n **Vijayanemistūri's** Bhandar (Cambay), No. 181/2, being folios 137B-144B of an illustrated paper Ms. of the *Kālpasūtra*. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.

b. Preuss. Staats-bibliothek (Berlin), Or. Mss. folio 1737, being an illustrated paper Ms. of 5 folios. No date.

B w Wādi **Pārśvanātha** Bhandar (Patan), No. 18. 19. Illustrated paper Ms. of 5. folios Dated **Samvat** 1502.

i India Office Library (London), bundle 1530 No date. I have not examined this Ms. but have relied entirely upon Leumann's edition of it; see the following item.

[**L** The foregoing Ms as published by Leumann in **ZDMG** 37 (1883). 505-509.]

Words or forms which I have not found in the **Paia-Sadda-Mahāṇṇavo** (that most welcome work by Pandit Har Govind Das, T. Sheth, in 4 vols., Calcutta, 1923-28) are.

Khetta for **kṣipta** (stanza 6)

kārai (causative of **kr**; stanza 35)

āra for ādara (stanza 42; noted by Leumann)

pairiccham, **pairittham** for pratirathyam (stanza 10)

Si for **srī** (?) (stanza 19)

ūraṇi from **anṛṇa** (stanza 31; noted by Leumann)

arham

nayarammi Dharāvāse
putto Kālāya · kumaro
so patto kilāe
suṇiya Guṇāgara · guruṇo
ṭhavo ya so gurūhim
viharanto Ujjeṇim
sāha sahuṇhimtattha ya

āsī siri · Vairasimha · rāyassa
devī · Surasundarī · jāo. 1
ujjāṇe annayā ya dhammakaham
pāse paḍivajjai dikkham. 2
sūri · pae ' ṇega · sīsa · pariyario
patto aha tassa lahu · bhainī 3
mahā · saī Śarasai - tti sampattā,

bahi viyaranti ditthā	niveṇa sā Gaddabhilleṇa. 4
aha handa mahā · muṇi ha hā	aha hā Kālaya sūri · puṇḡava
mama sīla · mahā · maṇiṇ ha hā	hīrantam naṇu rakkha
iya vilavantī mayā · āreṇa	rakkhaha. 5 (vāitāliya)
pāveṇa t · ṇa gahiṇam	
bāleṇa balā bālā	kheltā anteure, avvo. 6
aha tam nāṇ sūri	tattha gao bhaṇai: n' esa niva ·
	dhammo;
candā aggi sūrā	tamo ya jai, tā hao loo. 7
tā rāya munca eyam.	sangheṇa vi so taheva vinuatto.
tav · vayanam tammi visam	jāyam duggham va sappa ·
	muhe. 8
to avagaṇṇiya · vayo	sūri karae imam paiṇam tu:
jai n' ommūlemi aham	to 'ham ciya sangha · paḍi-
	kūlo. 9
evam kaya · ppainno	nivam ca vijjā · bal ' ukkaḍam
	muṇiṇ
bhamai ummatta · veso	'pairiccam imo-tti cavamāṇo: 10
yadi guru balaḥ so 'yam rājā tataḥ kim ataḥ param	
yadi ca nagari se 'yam ramyā tataḥ kim ataḥ param	
svapimi yadi vā sūnye gehe tataḥ kim ataḥ param	
pratigṛham atho yāce bhikṣam tataḥ kim ataḥ param. 11	
	(hariṇi)
tam datṭhum taḥabhūyam	nivam tu bohinti manti · sāmantā.
so vi bhaṇai: uvaesam	gantūṇam deha niya piṇṇo 12.
vuttantam tam nāṇ	Saga · kūlam so gao muṇi. tattha
sāhaṇusāhi-tti nivo	sāmantā sāhiṇo khāyā. 13.
sāhiss' egassa pure	ṭhiomuṇi tam ca manta · tantehiṇ
āvajjai anudiyaham.	ah' annayā sāhiṇo tassa 14
sāhaṇusāhi · pahio	dūo tatth' āo churiya · haṭṭho.

¹ pairiccam (B pairittham), from pratirathyam: for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, section 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in ZDMG 34. 261, line 44, tiya · caṭṭka · mahāpaha · ṭṭhāṇesu ya imam palavanto hiṇḍai.

taṃ pikkhiyo vicchāyaṃ
so sīsai; maha eso
taha annessim ankā
bhaṇai gurū mā tappasu
vaccuha Hinduga · dese
jāv' uttarittu Sindhum
vās'āgamo payatto.

yatr ca varṣāgame

sī · riraṃsu · sūro sūro sosarā sarasī rasā

sāsār'āsā susār'āsa sarimsu sārasā saraṃ. 19:

patte sarae Mālava ·
sāhinti sambalassā
cunna · jogeṇa kaṇayaṃ
pattā Mālava · desaṃ.
nīharīo nayarīo

jujjhai. aha bhagga · balo
taṃ nayariṃ vedheum

ṭhiyaṃ nivaṃ pucchae sūri. 15
khudd'āeso ya sāmiṇā pahio
pancāṇauī ya sāhiṇaṃ. 16
meliya egatttha sāhiṇo savve .

teṇa vi savvaṃ taheva kayāṃ. 17
pattā Soratṭha · maṇḍalaṃ tāva
ṭhiyā hu tatth' eva te cchaiu.ṃ

18

visayaṃ pai periyā u te muṇiṇā
'bhāvaṃ. to buddhimaṃ sūri 20
pāḍai. taṃ te vigiṇhiuṃ cāliyā
taṃ jāṇiya Gaddabhilla · nivo. 21
sa · visaya · sandhiṃmi gantu
tehiṃ samaṃ

purim pavitṭho siyālu vva. 22
ṭhiyā; tao sāhiṇo 'nnayā sunnaṃ

1 The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the first place I do not know the metre. It could conceivably be a very free **śloka** (for such pādas see in Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems probable. As *chāyā* I suggest:

śrī · riraṃsu · sūryaḥ sūraḥ sa · ūsarā sarasī rasān

sāsāra · āsā · susāra · āsāḥ asmārṣuḥ (or *asvārṣuḥ*) sār-
asāḥ saraḥ (or, *svaram*).

si for **śrī** is difficult, although the *Paia-Sadda-Mahannivo* (by. Pandit Har Govind Das; Calcutta, 1923-28; 4 vols.) records *sī* for **śrī**. In *n* there appears a commentary written in marginally, but only one line of it appears in my photograph. It seems doubtful if the commentary could give the correct rendering. for in the first part of the stanza *n* reads *isiraṃsu*^o.

gaḍham āloiya sūriṃ
ajj' atthamii kattha vi
taṃ ca niyacchaha tubbhe.

siṭṭhā guruṇo. teṇa vi
succā saddaṃ savvaṃ
osaraha gāuya · dugaṃ
atthasayaṃ mahaṃpāse
aha jāva gaddabhiṇ
tiṇe avihiya · saddāe ceva johehiṃ
tūṇaṃ va pūriyaṃ tam.

kāuṃ viṭṭhaṃ natthā;
bandhittu Gaddabhillo
gaḍham tajjiya dikkhaṃ
niddhāḍio sa · desā;
ṭhavo, sā vi hu bhaini
aha te Saga tti khāyā.
jāo Vikkama · rāo
tatto puṇa paṇatise
jeṇ' ankio ya samvatsarotti. pāsan giyaṃ iṇam o. 32

siri Kālagasūri aha'

Balamitta · Bhāṇumittā
vandanti gurū dhammaṃ

tiṇe suo Balabhāṇu
aha tattha duṭṭha · eitto
kārai aṇesaṇ'āim.
Maraḥṭṭha · visaya · maṇḍaṇa ·
taṭṭha' atthi Sālivāhaṇa ·

puechinti ya; so vi vajjarai: 23
sāhai rāyā hu gaddahiṃ vijjaṃ;
tehiṃ ya atṭālae diṭṭhā. 24

vuttaṃ: kaya · sāhaṇāe eyāe
mya · sinnaṃ aceyaṇaṃ hohi. 25
tubbhe; tā saddaveha · johāṇaṃ
ṭhaveha. tehiṃ ya taḥā vihiyaṃ 26
dūraṃ uppādiyaṃ muhaṃ tāva.
baṇehiṃ. 27

sā haya · satti-tti Gaddabhill'
uvarim

sāhihiṃ puri ya sā bhaggā. 28
paṇāmio sūriṇo ya. teṇāvi
aṇabhilasanto abhavvo so 29
aha sūrihiṃ tu samjame appā
pāyacchittena sujjhaviyā. 30
tav · vaṃsaṃ chindiūṇi puṇa
kāle puhavi jeṇ' ūraṇi vihiyā. 31
vāsa · sae naravai Sago āsi.

Bharuyaccha · puraṃ gayā
viharamāṇā.

sūriṇaṃ tattha bhaini · suyā. 33.
supanti. tāṇaṃ ca bhaini ·
Bhāṇusiri.

giṇhai dikkhaṃ bhava · viratto. 34.
purohio sūri · niggaṃvāe
sūri vi hu taṃ muṇeūṇaṃ 35
Puhaiṭṭhāṇaṃmi paṭṭaṇe pattā.
nivaī su · ssāvaṃ paramo. 36

mahayā vicchaddenaṃ	pavesiyā teṇa te puraṃ niyayaṃ
thoūṇa vandiūṇaṃ	saṃthaviyā phāsue ṭhāṇe. 37
aha patto pajjusaṇā ·	samao. to vinnavati nivo sūrim:
bhaddavaya · suddha · pancam	diṇaṃmi Indo · ṇugantavvo; 38
hobī na dhamma · kiccaṃ	jaṇāṇuvittī vāvaḍassa mahaṃ.
tā chatṭhi diṇe kuvvaha	pajjusaṇaṃ. to gurū bhaṇai: 39
avi ya calai Merū, sīyalo hoi aggi,	
muyai niyaya · meraṃ sāyaro vā kayā vi,	
avi ya divasa · nāho uggame pacchimāe,	
na parivasana · pavvaṃ pancam iṃ akkamei. 40 (mālini)	
to bhaṇai nivo: tamhā	cautthi divasaṃmi kuṇaha
	pavvaṃ tu.
taṃ guraṇā 'v' aṇuṇṇāyaṃ	jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ āgame paya-
	ḍaṃ: 41
āreṇī vi hu pajjosaviyavvaṃ.	to bhaṇai nivo tuṭṭho:
bhayavaṃ aṇugahio 'haṃ	jaṃ maha anteuriṇaṃ tu 42
pakkhōvavāsa · pāraṇa ·	divasaṃmi ya bhattam-esāṇā,
	suddhaṃ
sāhūṇ' uttara · vāraṇa ·	divasaṃmi bhavissae bahu-
	yam. 43
pajjosavaṇā · pavvaṃ	Kālagasūrihiṃ iya cautthiē
vihiyaṃ kāraṇa · vasao	sangheṇ' aṇumaniyaṃ taiyā. 44
jaṃ āsi sāhu · pūyā ·	paro jaṇo tattha kira tayā visae
tap · pabhī sāhu · pūya	nāma maho ajja vi pasiddho. 45
aha kāleṇaṃ savve	niya · sīse viṇaya · vajjīe nāṃ
sutte mottuṃ, sijaṇāyaṃ ca	jaṇāvium sūri 46
niya · sīsa · sīsa · Sāgarasūri ·	pāse gao; na so teṇa
uvalakkho ya vutto:	kiṃ vakkhāṇaṃ mae thera 47
ruiṇaṃ kayam na va tti ya.	bhaṇiyaṃ guraṇā vi: aivaraṃ
	vihiyaṃ.
aha te vi duṭṭha · sīsā	pucchiya sijaṇāyaṃ kicchā, 48
tatth' āgayāu Sāgarasūrim	pucchanti jāva, tā diṭṭhā
guraṇo. vandiya khāmanti	pāya · laggā puṇa puṇo vi. 49
aha lajjio ya Sāgarasūri raya ·	punja · tiyaga diṭṭhantaṃ
vutto gurūhiṃ bahuhā	khāmei puṇo puṇo paṇao 50

Sakko 'nnayā Videhe

Simandhara · jīṇa · varā suya ·
nigoo

puechai: Bharabe bhayavam ko v' atthi viyārago esim. 51

bhaṇiyam jīṇa: Kālagasūri atthi tti. to tahiṃ gantum

māhaṇa · rūvaga · harinā nigoya · bhee gurū puttḥo. 52

golā ya asaṃkhiṇṇā iccāi kahei. to niyayam āum

puttḥo jāṇiyā sūri jampei: Purandaro taṃ si. 53

to payadiya niya · rūvam aisaya · nāṇeṇa teṇa tuṭṭha · maṇo

Sakko thuṇei Kālagasūriṃ nāṇaviha · thuḥim. 54

ghan · garjitam iva yasya vacaḥ śrutvā bhavika · samājah

narinartti 'ha śikhī 'va mudā: dhanyastvam muni · rāja 55

iya thuṇiya sa · ṭhāṇaṃ pāvio deva · rāyā.

aha muṇiya niy'āum catta · bhatto muṇ'indo

aisaya · saya · jutto so vi patto surattaṃ.

ti · jaga · kitti deu sanghassa bhaddaṃ. 56 (mālini)

iti śrī · Kālikācārya · kathā saṃkṣepataḥ kṛtā

aṅkāṣṭa · yakṣa · varṣe 'sau śrī · Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ.

57 (śloka)

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1 ¹ has lacuna (°vā) se ā (sī) 3 *b* Slightly confused but intends
 yario 4 *b* Sarassāisaraiti 5 *i* °gave (*L* emends); *B* omits ha
 after °maṇim (*L* supplies), *b* omits ha hā but adds in correction;
i, hīranta (*L* emends): *i* rarakkha (for rakkha, *L* emends): *nb*
 rakkhahā 6 *B* gabiūṇa; *B* baleṇa (*L* emends); *b* omits bālā but
 adds in correction; all MSS khettā (*L* emends to khittā); *i* atṭho
L conjectures anto) 7 *i* ṇesa *i* sūri (but *L* in vocabulary sūra);
L punctuates tamo ya: jai tā, hao loo 8 *n* vinnatto; *i* jāya (*L*
 emends); *w* ca for va 9 *l* the original writing of the MS seems
 to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which
 are reproduced parts of the text, as follows: to avagaṇiyavayalo
 sūri va . . . ima painnaṃ tta jai nomūlemi aha to ha ciya saṃ
 . . . paḍikūlo (9) . . . vaṃ . . . innoni .vavijjābalukkaḍa: then

¹Is the metre of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the
 dohā?

original writing is resumed. Only *n* reads **avagaṇṇiya**, others °gaṇiya (*L* emends to avamaṇṇiya); *i* kaeme (*L* emends); *w* pannaṇimtu; *m* jāi tno°; all MSS **nomūlemi**, emendation here on basis of readings of other versions of *Kālakācāryakathā*, which regularly show verb **ummūlemi** 10 metre irregular; all MSS **painno** (emendation following *L*'s suggestion); *b*, confused but intends **vijjā**; 1 (see note to *stadza* 9); *b* **umimutta**; *B* **aisitham** (*L* divides **pai · rittham-imo**); *L* emends **cava°** to **vacamāṇo** 11 *n**w* **sūnye**: for **atho** *L* conjectures **aṭo**.

12 *B* **duṭṭham**; *B* **piyaṇo** 13 *n* **taṃ vutta°**; *B* **sāhaṇsāha** 15 *i* **vitthāyaṃ** (*L* emends); *b* **nava** (for *nivam*) 16 *b* omits **paho** 17 *i* **gaccha** (*L* *melīyae gaccha*); *b* **suvve**; *B* **Hindaga** (*L* emends) 18 *w* **patto**; *B* **ṭhayā** (*L* emends); *A* **cchāiṃ**, *i* **cchāiyṃ**, *w* **cchāiyṃ** (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadevasūri*'s version, in *śloka* metre, has **ṭhiyā tatth' eva chāiṃ**) metre irregular 19 *l* starting with (sa) **rasi** and continuing through **tesu** (for *te mu°*) of stanza 20 the original text is covered with a repair slip on which appears a fragmentary copying of the original; *n* **sisiraṃsn**, *i* **ssirṃ rasu**; *n* **sarasā · rasā**; *i* . **tu sāra** . (for °su **sārasā**), *i* **uspara** (for °su **sāra°**, *L* **sussāra**) 20 MSS **patto** (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadeva*'s version **patte saraya · kālaṃmi muṇṇā Mālavam pai periya**); *l* **sohinti** 21 *i* **kaṇaṇaṃ**; *B* **vigīṇhio**; metre irregular 22 *in* **nṭharṃ**; *b* **mantu** (for **gantu**); *i* **tehi**; *w* **sapṃam**

23 *i* **veḍḍhio** (*L* emends); *b* **gāḍham**; *b* omits **so** but adds as correction, *B* **chaṭṭarai**, *b* **jjarai** but adds syllable **ba** as correction 24 *b**B* **tehi** 25 *n* **sāhaṇṇāe**; *l* **sannam** (for **sinnam**) 26 *b* **usaraha**; *l* **saddavehi**; *b* **ppāse**; *b* wrote **ṭhaveha** but corrected it to °hi; *B* **tehi**, *b* **ehiṃ**; *B* **vikayaṃ** 27 *B* **uppāḍiya** (*L* emends); *B* **avihaya** 28 *n**b**B* **satta** (*L* emends); *i* **kāo** (*L* emends); *i* **sāhihi** 29 *b* **bandhita**; *L* emends to **surīṇā**; *l* has lacuna beginning with **ya** and ending with **dikkham**, due to a repair slip having been pasted over the original text 31 *b* **chidiṇṇa**, *i* **ched°** 32 *i* **Saggo** (*L* emends); *i* **sāṃvaccharo** 33 *i* **purah** (for **phraṃ**) (*L* emends) 34 *i* **vadanti** (*L* emends) *i* **guru** (*L* **garuṃ**)

35 All MSS *kārai*, *L* emends to *karei*, which is against metre; *B* āi (for āim, *L* āī; *B* muṇṇayaṇaṃ 36 w ssāvaī, but corrects to °vao 37 *B* mahiyā (*L* emends); *A* vichaddeṇaṃ; *b* pāsue 38 i bho (for to, *L* emends); *B* vinnavatti (*L* emends), *b* vinnave 39 w pajjasanaṃ 40 w omits ya before calai; *n* meru; w niya-meram; *l* original text of portions (me) ram . . . nā (ho) and (pariva) 'saṇa . . . bhāṇa (i) (stanza 41) covered by repair slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; *l* tha diva; w disava, but corrects 41 *l* covers original text (divasaṃmi) . . . jam with blank repair slip; *i* aṇuṇāyaṃ 42 i areṇāvi (*L* emends); *i* aṇuggaheo haṃ (*L* suggests aṇuggaho 'mhaṃ 44 osūrīhī; *n* a folio of MS missing, starting with iya and extending through atthi in stanza 51 (numbering of folios does not indicate loss) 45 This stanza does not appear in *B*, although *i* preserves the words ajja vi pasiddho and in the numbering of its stanzas the number 50, making stanza 51 correspond in number with our 51; w numbers the last stanza of its text 56, where 55 would be the correct number, and the next to the last 54, thus omitting the number 55. It is possible that this confusion of the numbering indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our stanza. At the corresponding place in *Bhāvadevasūri's* version, which is close to *Dharmaprabhasūri's*, there is a stanza corresponding in meaning to this. The text here is from *l* and *b*. It seems probable that the missing folio of *n* also had the stanza, for when the text of *n* is resumed the numbering of stanzas corresponds with that of the stanzas in our edition. °

43 *b* savvam; all MSS *suttaṃ* (emendation gives conformity *n* meaning with other versions); *bi* jāṇāvio (*L* emends) 47 *b* eṇaṃ (for teṇa) 49 *l* tattha gayāo; *b* pucchinti; all MSS *khāmaṇṭi* (*L* emends to *khāmaṇṭi*); *b* laggā ya puṇa puṇa vi 50 i guru°; *i* puṇo puṇo o (*L* conjectured pu° pu° guruṇo) 51 Sakkonayā; *b* Bharaho 53 *b* āo 54 *B* paḍiya (*L* emends); *b* teṇai a tu° 55 *ln* dhanyas tvam, dhanyas tvam dhanyas tva n, *bi* dhanyas tvam dhanyas tvam, w dhanyas tvam dha

56 *n* patthio (for pāvio); *b* nimāuṃ; *n* jaya (for jaga) Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various Kālakas appear in several of the MSS, namely *i*, which has four as stanzas 56-59); *w*, which has four stanzas as glosses written on margins at appropriate parts of the text; *l* which has three; and *b*, which has one, written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in text. They are as follows:

1. found only in *i*, syllables in parentheses missing from MS, supplied by *L*

bārasā vā(sa) · saeum	pannās'ahi(e)su	Vaddhamāṇāo
caudisi paḍhama · paveso	pakappio	Sāya · sūrīhi.

2. found in *liw*

sirivīrāu (i °rāo) gaesum	paṇatīs'ahiesu	ti · varisa'saesum
	(l °su)	
paḍhamo Kālaga (i °ka) sūrī	jāo Sāmajja · nāma	(w nāmu,
	l nānāma) tti.	

3. Found in *iw*; was in *l*, but with exception of a few akṣaras is now covered by a repair slip.

causaya · tipanna · varise	Kālaga · (w °liga)	guruṇā
	Sarassaī gahiya;	
causaya · (i omits saya) sattari ·	varise	Vīrāo Vikkamo (w
	Vikamo) jāo.	

4. found in *liw*

navasaya · teṇauehiṃ (i °ṇūe°, w teṇaunavasaehiṃ l °ṇāue°)
 samaikkantehiṃ Vaddhamāṇāo
 pajjosavana · (w pajusa°) cautthī (i cotthī) Kālaya (w°ga)
 sūrīto ṭhaviyā.

5. found only in *w*

vīsehiṃ diṇehi kappo	vamcaga · hāṇī kappāṭhavaṇā ya
navasai · teṇuehiṃ	vucchijjā sangha · āṇāe.

6. found only in *b*,
 tinnisae 335 paṇatīse

nigoya · vakkhāya Kāligāyario;

causaya · tipanna (MS tippanna) · varase 453 Kāligagu (MS ga)
 ruṇā Sarassai gahiyā

57 n ankāṣṭakīyakṣavarṣesāuśrī *with lacuna to bh:h*

b iti Kālikācārya · kathā saṃkṣepataḥ kṛtā

i iti śrīkālikācārya · kathā kṛtā śrī Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ

w iti śrīkālikācāryakathā.

z ās above, actually writing in pāda c ankā 9 ṣṭa 8 yakṣa
 13 varṣe

TRANSLATION

In the city of Dharāvāsa King Vajrasimha had a son, prince Kālaka, born of queen Surasundarī. He once went for amusement to a park, heard a sermon by the master Guṇākara, and received initiation from him. He was established by the master in the position of sūri (pontiff), went wandering about with a following of many disciples, and came to Ujjayinī. (1—3c).

Then his younger sister, the very holy Sarasvatī, arrived there with many nuns. As she was going outside,¹ king Gardabhilla saw her. (3d—4).

“Ah, alas, great sage, alas, alas, Kālaka, sūri-chief, save, I beg, the great jewel of my virtuous conduct, which, alas, is being raped. Oh, save!” Even as she cried out thus, the girl was seized by the hair by that lust-diseased villain, and forcibly cast into his harem. O shame! (5—6).

When the sūri learned this, he went there and said, “This is not kingly conduct. If fire comes from the moon and darkness from the sun, then the people are destroyed. Therefore, king, set her free!” The congregation, too, admonished him in the same way. Their word turned to poison in him like milk in a snake’s mouth. (7—8).

Then, when the sūri saw the counsel scorned, he took this oath, “If I do not uproot (this fellow), then I, even I, am an enemy of the congregation.” After he had taken this oath, being aware that the king was superior through the power of a magic art, he took the guise of a mad man, so as to wander along all the highways, crying out: “If this king has great might, then what is there beyond that? And if this city is charming, then what is there beyond that? And if I sleep in a deserted

1. Collateral versions make it clear that she had gone outside to the latrine (*viyāra. bhūmie niggaṃyā*). A low fellow, this Gardabhilla, to be hanging around the nuns’ latrine. (Sarasvatī had become a nun when Kālaka was ordained monk).

house, then what is there beyond that? And if I go begging from house to house, then what is there beyond that?" (9—11).

When the ministers and nobles saw Kālaka in this state, they admonished the king. He replied to them, "Go give advice to your fathers!" (12).

The muni heard of this affair and went to śakakūla¹. There the king was called Sāhaṇusāhi and the nobles Sāhi. The muni stayed in the city of a certain sāhi and daily won his favour with charms and sorcery. A messenger once came there sent by the Sāhaṇusāhi with a sword in his hand. When the king saw him he went pale; and the sūri asked the reason. The king explained, "This (messenger) has been sent to me by my lord with a dreadful command," and just so, according to the number, to the 95 other sāhis². (13—16).

The master said, "Do not be worried!. Call together all the sāhis in one place, and go to India (the country Hinduga)." And he did all just so. When they had crossed the Indus and came to the region of Sāurāṣṭra (Surat), the rains broke, and they remained right there. (17—18).

Where at the advent of the rains: The Sun eager for intercourse with Sṛī (or, eager to enjoy rich substance), the warrior, and the lake with its salty ground longed for the essences and the cranes that eat the riches of the stormy skies uttered their cry (or longed for the pool). (19)³.

When autumn came the muni urged them to go to the land of Mālava (Malwa), but they announced that they had no sup-

1. Is this the name of a country or merely of the region east of the Indus?

2. The command was to cut off his head with the sword and send it to the Sāhaṇusāhi in a metal pot which the messenger had brought. The number 96 was written on the sword.

3. Translation conjectural. (The sun sucks up water; the warrior longs for the rains as a period of rest and love—play (rāsa)).

plies. Then the wise sūri by means of magic powder made gold;⁴ this they shared and went to the land of Mālava. King Gardabhilla heard of this, came out from his city, went to the border of his kingdom, and fought with them. Then his army was smashed, and like a jackal he entered his city. (20—22).

The sāhis invested the city; then one day they saw the fort empty, and they inquired of the sūri. He told them, "At some time to-day, which is the eighth, the king will accomplish the "She-Ass" magic art. You must watch for it." When they saw it (the She-Ass) on a tower, they reported it to the master. He said, "When the charm for it is completed, our entire army, on hearing it bray, will become lifeless. You must withdraw two gavyūtas⁵; then put under my command 108 warriors (bowmen) who take aim by sound." And this they did. (23—26).

Then as soon as the She-Ass's mouth was wide open, but before it had uttered a sound, the soldiers filled it with arrows, as though it were a quiver. The She-Ass, because its power was destroyed, dinged upon Gardabhilla and fled. And the sāhis broke into the city. (27—28).

Gardabhilla was bound and made over to the sūri. The muni rebuked him sternly; but he had no desire to renounce the world, being unfitted for salvation, and the muni banished him from his land. Then the sūri devoted himself to the discipline, and purified his sister with the rites of expiation. (29—30).

Then these were called "śaka". But in time king Vikrama was born, who cut off their line and rendered the earth free of

4. He sprinkled the powder on some bricks and converted them to gold. The powder had been given him by his śāsana devī (female guardian deity), who had appeared to him by night.

5. A distance said to equal four kos, about eight miles

debt.* One hundred and thirty-five years later there was a Śaka king, after whom an era was named. This is occasional (to the main story). (31—32).

The reverend Sūri Kālaka then went to live in the city of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach). There the sons of the sūri's sister, Balmitra and Bhānumitra (the king and heir-apparent) revered the master and listened to the law. They had a sister Bhānuśrī, whose son Balabhānu became disgusted with the round of existence and took the vow. Then the evil-minded chaplain there, in order to make the sūri leave, caused improper alms to be given to the monks and did other such things. The sūri understood this and went to the city of Prthiviṣṭhāna, the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. (33—36b).

There king Śālivāhana lived, a most devoted lay disciple. He led the sūri into his city with great pomp, extolled him, revered him, and settled him in a place free of living creatures. (36c—37).

Then the Paryuṣaṇā season arrived; whereupon the king requested the sūri, "On the fifth day of the light half of the month Bhādrapada we honour Indra. While I am observing the festival according to the custom of the people I shall not be able to perform the offices of the Religion. Therefore celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth day." (38—39c).

The master said, "Even though mount Meru should shake, fire become cold, or the ocean sometime leave its bounds, even though the lord of day should rise in the west, the Paryuṣaṇā celebration cannot come after the fifth." (39d—40).

6. Text: *pukavi jen' ūraṇi vihiyā*. Bhāvadeva's version: *mahi jen' ūraṇi kayā*. For *u raṇi* Leumann suggested *a-rṇa*. Prākṛit *ūraṇi* should mean "ewe", but I cannot make sense of the passage with that meaning. Nor do I see any other possibility that is without phonetic or formative difficulties. Hence Leumann's suggestion seems the best possibility. For confirmation, cf. in No. 91 of the story of Kālaka in the Prabhāvakacarita (P. 45), where at the corresponding point we read concerning Vikrama: *sa co'nnatamahāsiddhiḥ sāuvarṇapuruṣodayāt medinim anṛṇāṃ kṛtvā 'cīkarad vatsaraṃ nijam*

Then the king said, "In that case have the celebration on the fourth." The master agreed to this, as it is clearly stated in the Scripture, "Let the Paryuṣaṇā be celebrated with honour!" Then the king was delighted and said, "Sir, I am obliged, and so on the day of breaking the fast observed during the light half of the month my queens shall provide much food, pure according to the ceremonial rules of pure food for the day of the monks' second meal after the fast." (41—43).

It was on this account that the sūri Kālaka thus fixed the Paryuṣaṇā festival on the fourth and the Order then endorsed it. Because the people there were devoted then to honouring the monks from that time even to the present a festival has been celebrated in the kingdom under the name of "Monk-honour". (44—45).

Then once upon a time the sūri, being aware that all his disciples had forsaken the rules of conduct, left them while they slept, and after telling the keeper of the monks' rest house went to his disciple's disciple, the sūri Sāgara. The latter did not recognize him and asked him. 'O elder, do I expound well or not?' The master said, "You do it very well." (46—48b).

Then those wicked disciples repentently inquired of the rest house keeper, came there, and just as they were inquiring of the sūri Sāgara, they saw the master. They humbled themselves and touching his feet again and again asked forgiveness. Then Sāgarasūri was ashamed, and after the master had told him the illustration of the three piles of dust, he bowed down again and again and asked forgiveness. (48c—50).

Once upon a time śakra, after hearing the Nigoda doctrine from the Jina Sīmandhara in Videha, asked him, "Sir, is there any one in Bhārata who is versed in (the doctrine of) these (Nigoda creatures)?" The Jina said, "There is the sūri Kālaka." (51—52a).

7 The word āreṇa also means "before".

So he went there wearing the form of a Brahman and asked the master the varieties of Nigoda. He gave him the exposition which begins, "The balls are innumerable." Then he asked how long he would live. The sūri knew him and said, "You are Puraṇḍara (śakra)." Then śakra manifested his true form and delighted with that superlative knowledge of Kālaka sūri praised him with many kinds of songs of praise. (52b–54).

"When the congregation of the righteous hears his speech, which is like the rolling of thunder, it dances with joy like a peacock. "Blessed are you, O chief of munis. (55)

After thus giving praise, the king of the gods went to his own home. Then the chief of munis, knowing his time had come, gave up food, and possessed of countless excellences became a god.

May he whose glory extends through the three worlds give a blessing to the Order. (56).

Thus the story of the reverend Kālkācārya has been told in summary by the reverend sūri Dharmaprabha in the year 1389. (57).

KASHMIR-BHAṬṬA ŚIVASVĀMIN'S UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST MAHAKĀVYA—KAPPHINĀBHYU- DAYA.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give an account of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya of Śivasvāmin, who was a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir.

The reign of King Avantivarman (855/6-833 A. D.) forms one of the glorious records in the chequered history of Kashmir. Aided by his far-sighted and able Minister Śūra, he succeeded in giving the 'happy valley' a comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which provided a fruitful era of great literary activity. As Kalhaṇa says in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* :—

मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः

प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ९,३९ ॥

'Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara became famous during the reign of Avantivarman.

Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara have their fame established through published works, Muktākāṇa is familiar only through stray quotations, while Śivasvāmin till 1893 was known only from several stanzas attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. Śeṣagiri Śāstrin in 1893 gave an account of a poem Kapphiṇābhyudaya by Bhaṭṭaśivasvāmin. Therein he traced and identified the quotations from that poem given in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. Professor Thomas in his *Kavīndravacanasmuccaya* gave a fuller account of the stanzas attributed to Śivasvāmin in different anthologies and of the quotations from his work, the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

The poem itself seems to have been quite well known and the fact that it had established a reputation for itself among the great Sanskrit works is testified to by the liberal use made of it by many a Sanskrit writer. Its importance as a literary

production of note was soon realised by compilers of anthologies, writers on Sanskrit poetry, commentators on Lexicon, and Grammarians. The compiler of the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* (circa 1000 A. D.), Sarvānanda (1159) Sṛidhara (1205), Sārṅgadharma (1363), and Ramānātha (1537), have all at one time or another recognized its merit and acknowledged their debt by extensive quotations from it. As it would appear Mammāṭa (circa 1100 A. D.) has also quoted from it in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* although it is surprising for a writer of such a comparatively early date that he should not have given the source.

Further, Śivasvāmin's work assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit Literature in general and the literary history of Kashmir in particular, in-as-much-as it shows the development of *Kāvya* in Kashmir and the influence of Ratnākara on his contemporaries. To the religious history of that period it makes a useful contribution. Its theme is neither Paurāṇic nor epic like most of the *Mahākāvyas*, nor is it historical like *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* or *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*; on the contrary it deals with the Buddhist legend of King Kapphiṇa who is well known in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

From the Buddhist sources it appears that King Kapphiṇa was a contemporary of the Buddha and was converted by him to Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition has given him a place among the twelve chief disciples of the Buddha, and refers to him as having become an Arhat in the Buddha's life-time. Even in the engraving on the walls of the Borobudur Temple in Java his figure appears among the Śrāvakas. Such a personality, popular in legends and tradition, provided Śivasvāmin with a suitable hero for his *Mahākāvya*.

But the merit of Śivasvāmin lies in moulding the material furnished by such a legend into a *Mahākāvya* written in strict observations of the rules laid down by writers on Poetics,

While doing so he could not escape the influence of the religious atmosphere of his age. Although he acknowledges that in writing his poem he was inspired by his Buddhist preceptor, Candramitra, yet it is not the Buddhist ideal of monkhood that he holds supreme in the concluding verses of his poem, but it is that of a householder or the 'gṛhastha' whose 'āśrama' has always given the highest place in the fabric of Hindu Society. This seems to indicate the process of absorption of the late Buddhism by the reviving Vaiṣṇavism and suggests that the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha had begun to be reconciled. Thus Sivasvāmin's poem is an important evidence of the tendency which gradually found its full expression in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita.

From the following stanza, written perhaps by some contemporary admirer of his it seems that Śivasvāmin wrote several works out of which this poem and some stray verses attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra have survived the ravages of time.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथमहाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
 व्यक्षप्रत्यहानिर्मितस्तुतिकयालक्षाणि चेकादश
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्राप्यान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वार्षा शिवस्वामिनः

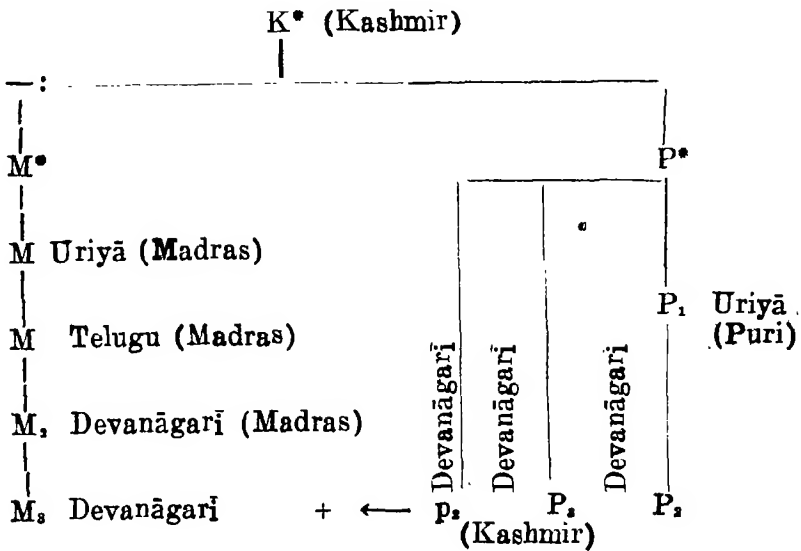
'Not even now does Sivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākāvyas which have 'dvipadīs', and has written eleven lacs of hymns to śiva every day, and several dramas, and other minor plays and Prakraṇas and other prose works.'

It could not be, therefore, possible to compare the style of this poem with that of any other work of the poet except with a few stanzas given in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. It cannot, therefore, be ascertained what stage of development this poem marks in the literary career of Śivasvāmin. But it was possible to make comparison with the Mahākāvyas of his contemporary

Ratnākara and his predecessor Māgha. This would serve to illustrate the greatness of this poet in an age when literary genius was by no means rare.

From the detailed comparison of the various existing texts of the poem it is found that there are two families of Manuscripts in respect of this poem. The oldest palm-leaf Manuscript is preserved in Uriyā script in Madras, and has yielded two more transcripts, one in Telugu and one in Devanāgarī. To the other family of the MSS. belongs another paper MS. at Madras, which has been proved to be closely related to the recently discovered MS. at Puri, and the transcript from Kashmir.

The fact that the Text has passed through the Uriyā, the Telugu and Devanāgarī scripts necessitated an investigation into the details of the orthography of these scripts in their relation to śāradā in which the original was written by the poet. The scribal errors due to the orthographic or phonetic similarities of symbols have been fully taken into account and the different readings and omissions noted. The conclusions arrived at by this study gives us the following pedigree of the extant MSS. and transcripts of the Text.



The transcript of *M.* is that of the Madras Manuscript and belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas, Oxford, who kindly lent it to me for my use. It is a fuller Text than the others, but the absence of a verse authentically known to have been quoted from the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* shows that even this does not represent a complete transcript of the original poem.

On the basis of these enquiries and studies the text has been reconstructed and an attempt has been made to present *śivasvāmin's* poem in its original form.

CONTENTS OF THE POEM.

Canto. Stanzas.

- I. 1. Invocation to the Buddha as Daśabala.
 - 2—22. Description of *Līlāvati*, a town situated on the Vindhya.
 - 23—44. Description of King *Kapphiṇa*, master of *Līlāvati*.
 - II. 1. A spy from the North arrives in the Court of King *Kapphiṇa*.
 - 2—3. The poet remarks on the need for the system of espionage.
 4. The spy enters the Assembly Hall.
 - 5—9. The Hall is described.
 - 10—18. The spy sees King *Kapphiṇa*, who is again described.
 - 19—22. The King receives the spy, who addresses the Assembly.
 - 23—53. The spy speaks of the Kosala Kingdom and its ruler, King *Prasenajit*, the latter's hostility towards King *Kapphiṇa*, and his advice to overcome him.
 - III. 1. The description of the effect produced on the vassal chieftains who were attending the Court of King *Kapphiṇa* by the news brought by the spy.
- The chieftains are:—

- | | | | |
|--------|---|-----|---------------|
| 2. | Subāhu. | 23. | Kaṅka. |
| 3—5. | Darśaka. | 24. | Sitadhvaja. |
| 6. | Subandhu. | 25. | Indu. |
| 7. | Jiṣṇu. | 26. | Nala. |
| 8. | Bala. | 27. | Satadhanuṣ. |
| 9. | Suśarman. | 28. | Sālva. |
| 10. | Bhūridhāman. | 29. | Pr̥thudhvaja. |
| 11. | Pāṇḍya. | 30. | Jṛmbha. |
| 12. | Surāṣṭra. | 31. | Pradyota. |
| 13. | Sukeṭu. | 32. | Babhru. |
| 14. | Bhīṣmaka. | 33. | Gada. |
| 15. | Bhīṣma. | 34. | Protha. |
| 16. | Kirmīra. | 35. | Ugrasena. |
| 17. | Āndhra. | 36. | Karandhama. |
| 18. | Utkala. | 37. | Dantavaktra. |
| 19. | Bhīma. | 38. | Rukmin. |
| 20. | Samudra. | 39. | Sauvalka. |
| 21. | Dr̥ḍhadhanuṣ. | 40. | Kauravya. |
| 22. | Ambarīṣa. | 41. | Duḥṣeṇa. |
| 42—43. | A general description of the disturbance created. | | |

IV. 1—4. Description of the Assembly.

5—41. **Subāhu's speech:** He asks the King to prepare for battle and mentions individually the members of the audience, *viz.*, Suśarman, Dr̥ḍhadhanuṣ, Bala, Nala, Gada, Pāṇḍya, Protha, Kirmīra, Kaṅka, Kṛpa, Yavana, Surāṣṭra, Āndhrā, and Indu.

42. The poet brings in again the mention of Yavana, Śatadhanuṣ, Babhru, Jṛmbha, Ambarīṣa, Pradyota, Protha, and Pāṇḍya.

V. 1. The Council of War is still sitting after the speech of Subāhu, and the Kings are again mentioned by name:—

- | | | | |
|----|------------|--------|--------------|
| 2. | Nala. | 8. | Bhūridhāman. |
| 3. | Suśarman. | 9. | Karandhama. |
| 4. | Kṛpa. | 10. | Nala. |
| 5. | Yavana. | 11. | Rukmin. |
| 6. | Śatadhvaḥ. | 12. | Bhīma. |
| 7. | Gada. | 13—14. | Bhīṣmaka. |
- 15—42. Bhīṣmaka addresses the assembly and proposes that a messenger should be sent to Prasenajit before any action is taken against him.
- 43—45. King Kapphiṇa approves.
- 46—48. Darśaka is chosen as the messenger.
49. He sets out on his errand.
- 50—51. A Vidyādhara, Vicitrabāhu by name comes and implores King Kapphiṇa to accompany him to the Malaya mountain. The King accedes to his request and goes with his royal camp to his friend, Vicitrabāhu.
- VI. 1—9. King Kapphiṇa sees the mountain Malaya.
- 10—84. Vicitrabāhu describes the loveliness of the mountain
- VII. 39. The description of the encampment in which the Vidyādharas help the followers of King Kapphiṇa in their preparations.
- VIII. 1. The six seasons appear simultaneously on the mountain, and they are described:—
- 2—15. Vasanta (spring) 37—48. Śarat (dewy autumn).
- 16—23. Griṣma (summer) 49—54. Hemanta (autumn).
- 24—36. Varṣā (rains) 55—59. Śisira (winter).
60. A general description of the seasons.
- IX. 40. The description of the amusements of the king's attendants who are gathering flowers in the forest.

- X. 33. The description of their enjoyment of water sports.
- XI. 37. A description of the sunset.
- XII. 1—21. A description of the rising of the moon.
22—47. The women make their toilet.
- XIII. 40. A description of drinking parties.
- XIV. 40. A description of amorous sports according to the Kāmaśāstra.
- XV. 1—34. The dawn is described.
35. King Kapphiṇa awakened by the sweet eulogies of the minstrels leaves the abode of his friend Vicitrabāhu and returns to his capital.
- XVI. 1. Darśaka reaches śrāvastī.
2—10. Description of śrāvastī.
11—12. Darśaka received by King Prasenajit.
13—23. Prasenajit enquires contemptuously the purpose of his visit.
24—39. Darśaka delivers his message.
40—53. Prasenajit becomes angry and declares that he would rather go to war than submit to Kapphiṇa.
54—63. Darśaka very much enraged urges Prasenajit to reconsider his decision.
64. He returns to his country.
65. The effect of the reply from Prasenajit on the camp of King Kapphiṇa is described again and the following kings are cited:—
66. Raghu. 76. Bala.
67. Āśmaka. 77. Sura.
68. Kukura. 78. Sauvīramalla.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|
| 69. | Niṣāda. | 79. | Kadambaka. |
| 70. | Mucukunda. | 80. | Aja. |
| 71. | Sahadeva. | 81. | Manu. |
| 72. | Prasāda. | 82. | Śruta. |
| 73. | Surandhra. | 83. | Dhundhu. |
| 74. | Indu. | 84. | Ruru. |
| 75. | Madraka. | 85. | Aṇu. |
- 86—92. A description of the dejection of the warriors, wives as they contemplate the separation from their husbands who must go to war.
- 93—95. The army sets out for war.
- XVII. 1. Kapphiṇa gets enraged.
- 2—46. Paraphernalia of battle are described, including the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.
- 1—10. The army of King Kapphiṇa attacks Prasenajit's forces. King Kapphiṇa's warrior's are distinguished by name:—Yavana(2), Surandhra (4), Raghu (6), Protha (7), Gada (9), Kukura (10).
11. King Kapphiṇa watches the progress of his army in battle. The heroes of the battle are again mentioned:—
- Indu (13), Bala (14), Pāṇḍya (16),
Yugandhara (18), Babhru (19), Bhūri-
dhaman (21), Karandhama (23).
- 29—34. King Kapphiṇa encourages his army.
- 35—42. Prasenajit becomes furious and attacks the army of King Kapphiṇa.
43. Kapphiṇa is dismayed to see his army thus harrassed by Prasenajit.

- 44—70. Kapphina routes the forces of Prasenajit.
- 71—75. Prasenajit is unable to withstand the attacks of Kapphina's forces. He prays to the Buddha for help.
- 76—80. The Buddha appears and subdues Kapphina, who is rendered helpless on account of the miracles worked by the Master. King Kapphina acknowledges his need for the help of the Master and entreats him.
- XIX. 40. King Kapphina receives the instruction of the Buddha.
- XX. 1—19 ab. The teaching of the Buddha continues.
- 19 cd—22. King Kapphina requests the Buddha to initiate him as a monk.
- 23—32. The Buddha advises that King Kapphina should wait until the time for him to renounce the world has come, and that he should, till then, continue to rule his kingdom for the benefit only of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.
33. The Buddha vanishes.
34. King Kapphina retires to his capital and continues to rule there according to the advice of the Buddha.
- 35—38. The Prasasti.

ABSTRACT OF THE POEM.

I.

Śivasvāmin, the author, opens his poem invoking the blessings of the Buddha, possessed of the ten powers, with the description of a town Līlāvati by name, situated on the banks of the Narmadā in the Vindhya. The prosperity of this town was

obvious from its many beautiful buildings whose silken banners kissed the sky. From the grandeur of its crystal palaces with golden domes and jewelled windows one could imagine that it was either the goddess Kāli or the royal Goddess of Glory incarnate. Sublimity, grace and strength were combined in its architecture.

Its ruler, King Kapphina, was tall, brave and adventurous, and had a large following of vassal chieftains. He was Śiva personified, who by the mere sound of his voice could put his enemies to flight and whose fame had spread in all directions. His skill in wielding his sword was known to his enemies whose cities lay in ruins. He governed his kingdom according to the rules laid down in the books of Politics and employed spies to enquire into the state of affairs both at home and abroad.

II.

Once a spy, who had been sent to the North, returned to the Royal Assembly of King Kapphina reporting that there was a king by name Prasenajit, who ruled over the thriving kingdom of Kosala. "Prasenajit" he said, "is loved by his subjects as he possesses all the virtues of a noble ruler, glories in his powers, and entertains a feeling of enmity towards you."

The poet gives an impressive description of Prasenajit, a contemporary of the Buddha, and his capital Śrāvastī, a favourite resort of the Buddha. When the messenger reaches Śrāvastī (XVI Canto) the poet's description of the town and of the King bears witness to his love for both.

III.

On hearing from the messenger of the hostile attitude of Prasenajit the whole assembly becomes greatly enraged. Thirty-eight Chieftains are mentioned, all exhibiting their fury—tearing off their bracelets, wringing their hands, perspiring, and uttering menacing words. Of these Subāhu, Darśaka and Bhīṣmaka are of importance for their part in the later story, while the names of

Pāṇḍya, Surāṣṭra, Andhra, and Utkala refer to the territories over which they ruled.

IV.

The poet describes the great tumult in the assembly hall. In this atmosphere of great tension Subāhu begins a fiery speech which shows that he was well versed in the science of politics, as he points out with sound arguments that the only course of action left for King Kapphiṇa is to wage war at once against the enemy. To add weight to his arguments, he points to the members giving an epithet to each. He says that formidable Suśarman, furious Dr̥ḍhadhanuṣ, powerful Bala, and others can brook no further humiliation. Finally he taunts them by saying 'Do you stay here. I will fight the enemy alone.' This rouses their enthusiasm. At the close of his speech he is loudly applauded.

V.

Before the Council of War adjourns another Chieftain, Bhīṣmaka, stands up and supporting the motion proposed by Subāhu suggests sending a messenger to Prasenajit, the hostile King, as a necessary measure before actually going to war. The anger of King Kapphiṇa, who was very much enraged, is assuaged and he gives his approval to the idea. Darśaka, another member of the audience, is selected as messenger to Prasenajit. The import of the message is not given, but it is implied that the hostile king must either pay homage to King Kapphiṇa or suffer an invasion. It is an ultimatum. The King by a gesture orders the messenger to proceed on his errand and he at once sets out on his journey to the North.

So far the poet has been following the traditional Avadāna of Kapphiṇa current in his time. At the same time, since he claims to be a writer of a Mahākāvya, he must describe mountains, seasons, etc. He, therefore, introduces a demigod, or a Vidyādhara, Vicitrabahu by name, a friend of King Kapphiṇa, who invites the latter to his abode in the Malaya mountains. The

king agrees to the proposal and follows his friend with all the paraphernalia of a King of India of the 9th century, including the harem and the army.

VI.

The description of the mountain Candanācala in this canto is consistent with the vast grandeur and the majestic scenery of the Himalayas which this poet knew very well. The poet's imagination nurtured in that abundant luxuriance of nature takes in long vistas and covers vast regions. Each stanza has one theme to describe and the poet each time exercises his imagination to such an extent that the description to the Western mind appears exaggerated and too artificial. The poet focuses his attention on one subject which he is going to describe and tries to see it from different angles of vision.

This scheme runs throughout the Canto and the metre changes with the shifting of the scene and the its dignity (of the metre) varies according to the loftiness of the subject.

The glowing mountain appears to the poet as a huge mass of fire fanned by fierce winds. It has ravines and precipices where the trees are alive with the warbling of delighted birds. The lofty snow-clad peaks remind the poet of the ocean rising to clasp the moon. The arbours and the elephants, the gold coloured peaks at sunset, the verdant plateaux attract his attention. He fancies that the sun seems to rest there for a while to cool itself.

Then the King's friend, Vicitrabāhu, who is more familiar with the place begins to describe its particular features. Here we are told of its richness in flowers and the brilliance of its outcropping minerals. Then follows a description of the wild animals roaming about the penance groves, of ascetics, of cowherds and their huts, of lotus ponds, and of chirping birds. In Stanza 23, the Vidyādhara compares the mountain to the sublime and calm image of the Buddha with the right shoulder covered.

The king's friend then proceeds to describe the crystalline walls used as mirrors by celestial ladies, the sweet smelling grass, fragrant flowers, sandal-woods, music of Kinnara Ladies, and the calls of cuckoos. A reference is made to the Buddha; and the mountain is compared to the Indra and the Bodhisattva (Stanzas 46, 57, 59.) The heaps of bones of Nāgas are pointed out in Stanza 61. The Ideal of an Arhat with the several methods of attaining it form the subject of the 65th verse while Bodhi is mentioned in verse 69.

VII.

The king with an army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, and accompanied by the ladies of the harem, wishes to pass some time on the Mountain Candanācala. All preparations for laying out the camp are made with the help of the Vidyā-dharas. Tents are pitched, huts are built, arrangements for the kitchen are made, and the ladies of the harem are well housed.

The elephants and horses are taken to ponds to bathe and the camp looks delightful.

VIII.

The six seasons simultaneously appear on the mountain to honour King Kapphiṇa. There is spring, when mango groves, Vakula trees, saffron plants, and Navamālikā creepers put forth sweet fragrant flowers. There is summer when peacocks hide themselves under their plumage, and when the men in the camp enjoy the breeze of fans in pleasure huts. There is the rainy season which depresses the ladies whose husbands are abroad as the sweet but melancholy notes of peacocks reach their ears and the rumbling noise of the clouds rends their hearts. There is autumn when the water in the ponds becomes limpid and lilies smile brightly. There is dewy autumn when the nights are clear and the moon shines pleasantly. That is the time when Ketaka plants blossom and paddy fields ripen. There is the winter season when snow

destroys the charm of lotus ponds. Everywhere it is desolate and dreary, and the Nameru trees with leaves yellow and sere are seen here and there.

IX—XV.

Men and women in the King's camp on the mountain are tempted by the abundance of flowers and the charm of the seasons to pluck flowers and enjoy the company of their beloved in that pastime. When they are tired and overcome by the heat they bathe in the cool ponds and streams which are full of lilies and lotuses. They frolic about in the water. The waters of these streams are tinted with the toilet powders of these ladies. People say their evening prayers as the lotuses close. The parties of men and women retire to their rest-houses as the moon rises. Preparations are made by the ladies for the drinking parties which are attended with great mirth. The ladies wear ornaments to add beauty to their lovely limbs. Messengers move about carrying news from the lover to the beloved. Then begin the amusing scenes of enjoyment as the goblet passes from one to another, each vying with the other to excel in coquettish behaviour. When drunk they retire to rest. The poet here indulges in amorous and erotic descriptions. When it is morning and the sun begins to chase the gloom of darkness, when stars begin to disappear, and lotuses begin to bloom, when the bees again buzz about in the lotus ponds, when Brahmans begin to perform their morning ritual, and the sacrificial fires rise up to the sky, the bards sing the praises of King Kapphina to awaken him.

King Kapphina wakes up and having fully enjoyed the hospitality of his friend, Vicitrabāhu, retires to his capital, Līlāvati, where he has been long expected.

XVI and XVII.

Here the poet takes up the story which he had left unfinished at the end of the Fifth Canto.

Darśaka, who had been sent as an envoy to Prasenajit, reaches Śrāvastī, where he sees that the houses are made of precious stones, that the people practise righteousness and that Māra has no influence over them, and that the evil influences of the Kali age are no longer to be felt, and that there are many Buddhist monasteries, Vihāras and Caityas. The city indeed looks as if it were presided over by the Buddha himself.

He is received by the Chamberlain as he enters the Palace, and is introduced to Prasenajit who in a scornful tone enquires the object of his visit. Darśaka delivers the message of King Kapphīṇa which provokes Prasenajit very much. Prasenajit is furious and declares that he will not submit to Kapphīṇa and that the proper reply to his message would be an army ready for battle. Darśaka gives his parting advice to Prasenajit and withdraws to his own city. When he conveys the reply from Prasenajit to the allies of Kapphīṇa their anger is unbounded. Great confusion and a spirit of high tension are evident as was the case when Darśaka was sent to Prasenajit. Preparations for war are soon undertaken and the warriors arm themselves and march against Prasenajit. The chariots, the cavalry, and the elephants are at once arrayed to march against the enemy.

XVIII.

A dreadful battle ensues in which the army of Pāasenajit is put to flight. He finds himself helpless and prays to the Buddha for help. He appears and by means of a miracle changes the mind of Kapphīṇa.

XIX—XX.

King Kapphīṇa hears a sermon of the Buddha and expresses his desire to enter the order of the Buddhist monks. The Buddha advises him not to renounce the world but to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom. The Buddha disappears and King Kapphīṇa retires to his kingdom.

THE AUTHOR.

His name : **Kāsmriabhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin.**

Bhaṭṭa : in modern Kashmiri is 'baṭa', a brahman, a Kashmiri Pandit, all of whom are Brahmans. It is derived from the Sanskrit word 'bhartr' which in Prakritic form gave Bhaṭṭa. The latter has been retained by the Sanskritists, and appended to the proper names in the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of 'learned'. Some of the important instances are Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvya prakāśa*, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the learned philosopher of Southern India. But mostly it is found affixed or prefixed to the names of writers from Kāśmīra, as a title given to a learned Brahman or a great teacher.

In the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* (XX,36; 37) the author has written *Śrīśivasvāmin* and *Śivasvāmin* as referring to himself. Both of these names with and without the *Śrī* are found in the Anthologies.

The Name of the Poem.

Śivāsavāmin probably chose the name of his poem on the model of his predecessor Saṅkuka's work the *Bhuvanābhyudaya**, now lost to us. The title 'abhyudaya' has been often used to name the works which celebrate the deeds of great heroes, viz. Puṣpa sena's *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya*, Jinasena's *Pārśvābhyudaya*, and Veṅkaṭeśa's *Rāmābhyudaya*.*

His date and Contemporaries.

Ancient Kāśmīra was known among the Pandits of Northern India as the abode of *śāradā*, the goddess of learning and this

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1. See Monier Williams' Dictionary and Grierson's Kashmiri Dictionary, P. 137.
 2. *Rajatrangini* IV, 703 4. Bühler's Report 1877, P. 42.
 3. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.
 4. A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Vol. XX.
 5. See 3,

belief was not groundless in that it contributed very much to the mass of Sanskrit learning. Among the outstanding poets and writers on poetics one may refer to Rātnākara, Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa, Bilhana, Ksemendra, and Kalhaṇa. In the famous Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, edited and translated by Stein, one finds the names of other writers whose works are lost, such as Śaṅkuka.

Ratnākara lived under two kings, Jayāpīḍa and Avantivarman. Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) was a great patron of learning. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī¹ Chap. V we have:—

“The Minister Śūra by honouring learned men with a seat in the King’s Sabhā, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend again upon this land (32)”.

“The Scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the Sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of Kings” (33).

“Muktākara, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman” (39).

“In the time of Avantivarman the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa and other holy men (siddhas) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people” (66).

Ratnākara wrote his voluminous Mahākāvya, the Haravijaya, in fifty Cantos. In that work, his exquisite language, his command of style in all its varieties, his ability to use various metres, his art of making the sound correspond with the sense, his full knowledge of Śaivā philosophy, and his mastery of Nītiśāstra, Kāmasūtras, Epics, and the Purāṇas, make him stand unique among the writers of Kāvya and testify to his being a true successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Bāṇa.

1 See Stein’s Translation of the Rajatarāṅgiṇī.

Anandavardhana belonged to that school of poetics which held that suggestion was the soul of poetry. As a matter of fact by writing the *Dhvanyāloka* he put that theory on a firm footing.

Kallāṭa¹ wrote commentaries on Spanda and Śaiva-sūtras.

To this galaxy of writers in the times of Avantivarman belonged Śivasvāmin, the writer of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*.

To write a *Mahākāvya*, by Śivasvāmin's time, had become the indispensable condition of greatness of a poet and that Śivasvāmin, from all evidence a Śaiva, should have delved deep into Buddhist tradition and thought and should have celebrated a Buddhist Legend in a work of such a major importance is evidence not only of the influence exerted over him by his preceptor Candramitra, nor only of the tendency to incorporate the Buddha in the hierarchy of 'avatāras', but also of the receptive nature of the poet's mind which refused to be hide-bound by narrow orthodox Brahmanism but thirsted to explore fresh fields and pastures new.

Ratnākara, a 'Śaiva' to the core, had celebrated the exploits of Śiva, Śivasvāmin's own ideal; Māgha a Vaiṣṇava in thought and spirit had sung the overmastering triumph of Lord Kṛṣṇa over his arch-enemy, Śiśupāla; but Śivasvāmin, with a boldness characteristic of him, hit upon a theme entirely new in thought and spirit, and surpassed them by celebrating not so much the heroism of the victor or the degeneration of the vanquished as the triumph of the very soul over life's ambitions. And to do this he turned for inspiration, light and guidance to the core of a religion where reason and devotion are mingled in such a pleasing and appealing combination.

1, Kashmir Śaivism by J. C. Chatterjee, 1914.

Śivasvāmin, Ratnākara and their predecessors.

Śivasvāmin, as he was a successor of the great writers of artificial Sanskrit poetry, has combined in him all the merits and demerits of such writers, chiefly Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha, and especially Ratnākara. The opening of his poem is after Hara-vijaya, the introduction of a spy from the north follows that in Bhāravi, the description of the mountain is common to them all, the appearance of a Vidyādhara resembles that of a Yakṣa in Bhāravi and Dāruka in Māgha. In the Sixth Canto he very closely imitates Māgha even in the scheme of metres. Māgha has in the beginning of the Fourth Canto, eighteen upajāti verses. These are followed by verses every third of which is a Yamaka; while Śivasvāmin has the first twelve verses of the Sixth Canto in Upajāti metre, these being followed by other in which every second verse is a Yamaka. In the nineteenth Canto, which can be read as Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, he has followed Bhaṭṭi.

Bhāravi employed the word Lakṣmī, Māgha used the word Śrī, Ratnākara has Ratna and Śivasvāmin Śiva in the last verse of every Canto. The Praśasti is found at the end of the works of Māgha, Ratnākara, and Śivasvāmin.

Comparative analysis of the important epic poems which were imitated by Śivasvāmin.

Bhāravi.	Māgha.	Haravijaya.	Kapphiṇābhyudaya.
I—I. V. The Hima- layas.	I—II.	I, VII—XVI.	I—V. The assembly.
	IV. Raivataka.	IV. The Mandara.	VI. The Mal'ya.
	V.		VII. The Camp.
X.	VI.	III. V.	VIII. The Seasons.
	VII.	XVII.	IX. The plucking of flowers.
VIII.	VIII.	XVIII.	X. The water-sports.
	IX.	XIX.	XI. The sunset.
		XX—XXV.	XII. The rise of the moon.
	X.	XXVI.	XIII. The drinking par- ties.
IX.		XXVII.	XIV. The a m o r o u s sport.
	XI.	XXVIII— XXIX.	XV. The Dawn.
		XXX—L.	XVI—The message.
XIV—XVIII.			XX. Battle.

**A Comparative Analysis of the Scheme of the Haravijaya and
the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.**

Haravijaya.

- I. 1—3. Invocation to Śiva.
4—33. Description of Jyotsnāvati.
33—64. Description of Śiva,

Lord of Jyotsnāvati.

Kapphiṇābhy.

- I. 1. Invocation to the Buddha.
2—22. Description of Līlāvati
on the Vindhyācala.
23—44. Description of Kapphiṇa, master of Līlāvati.

II. A spy from the north comes to the Court of Kapphiṇa. In this Canto the narrative resembles the opening of the Kirāta.

VII. Description of the agitation in the Assembly of Śiva on hearing that Andhaka had harassed the Gods and driven them out of heaven. Several attendants of Śiva are individually referred to, viz., Virabhadra, Kālamusala, Meghanila, Vajramuṣṭi, Jīṣṇu, Sunandaka, Ketu, Āmardaka, Jyotiṣmat, Agnimukha, Caṇḍānana, Nīlavajra, Nandī, and others.

III. Description of the agitation in the Assembly on hearing from the spy that Prasenañjit was hostile towards Kapphiṇa. The latter's vassal kings are named, viz., Subāhu, Darśaka, Subandhu, Jīṣṇu, Bala, Pāṇḍya, Suketu, Surāṣṭra, Andhra, Ambarīṣa, Indu, Nala, Śālva, Pradyota, and others.

VIII—Kālamusala, who advises IV—V. Subāhu advises that

XVI. that Andhaka should be attacked at once, is followed by Prabhāmaya (IX), Vahnigarbha (X), Agnidarmṣṭra, (XI), Atṭahāsa (XII) Candēśvara, (XIII), Puṣpahāsa (XIV) and Nandīṣena (XV) who express their opinions on the matter and it is finally decided (XVI) that Kālamusala should be sent as an ambassador to Andhaka to persuade him to give up the Svarga.

Prasenajit should be attacked without losing any more time, but Bhīṣmaka advises that an ambassador should be sent to Prasenajit to ask him to submit to the sovereignty of Kappiṇa. Darśaka is sent on that errand.

XXX—Kālamusala's journey from XVI. 1. Darśaka's journey to
XXXI. Jyotsnāvati to Svarga and Śrāvastī.

the description of Andh- 2—10. Description of the
aka (XXXI). town.

XXXII. Kālamusala's reception, Kāl- 12. Darśaka's reception.
amusala delivers his mes- 24—39. Darśaka delivers his
sage, 69—118, XXXII. message.

The reply of Uśanas 43—53. Prasēnajit's reply.
(XXXIII). Kālamusala's 53—63, Darśaka's reply.

angry retort (XXXIV).
Speech of Andhaka
(XXXV). Speech of Kana-
kākṣa (XXXVI). Speech
of Vajrabhānu (XXXVII).
Kālamusala's angry part-
ing words (XXXVIII).

XXXIX. Return of Kālamu-
sala.

64. Darśaka returns and delivers
the scornful reply of Para-
senajit to Kapphiṇa's com-
mand.

XXXIV-XXXVII

Bear close resemb-
lance to :—

65—85. Description of the effect
which the reply of Parasenajit
produces on the vassal kings
of Kapphiṇa. Several of
them are again named indivi-
dually.

XL. 57—64.

86—92. The wives of these prin-
ces are introduced in a very
dismal mood because they feel
the separation from their lords
who prepare to go to war.

65. Army marches. 93—95. Army marches.

XLIsqq.

XVII—XVIII.

Author's Motive in writing the poem.

Śivasvāmin wanted to write a Mahākāvya, and in doing so he
has very closely followed the instructions of Daṇḍin, the
writer of the Kāvyaḍarśa¹ who probably wrote in the 6th
century.

The subject of the poem is taken from an old narrative. The
hero is noble and adventurous. Ministers assemble and spies
take part in discussions on state affairs. Descriptions of
mountains, of the seasons, of the sunset and of the rising of the
moon, of drinking and amorous dalliance, have their due place.
The hero's campaign, his war with the enemy, and his final
triumph bring us to the end of the poem which is full of senti-
ments, emotions and effective transitions. In the use of metres
the poet follows the rules. Each Canto is written in a single
metre with a change of metre in the last one or two Stanzas.

(1) See Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 14—49.

As a matter of fact our poet has taken the word *Abhyudaya* from the text of the *Kāvya-darśa*,¹ which he very closely follows in his illustration of the “*citra kāvya*” in VI and XVIII Cantos.

It also seems that the poet meant to narrate allegorically the story of the human soul which has been slumbering and has been allured by the temptations of the world and which is at last awakened by a sudden shock or some outstanding event, as it was in the case of *Aśoka* and the Buddha himself.

We might say that the conversion of *Kapphiṇa* represents the enlightenment of such a soul. Here this *Mahākāvya* may be compared with the *Buddhacarita* and the *Śaundarānand* of *Aśvaghoṣa*.

The poet's account of himself.

From the “*praśasti*” which comes at the end of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* we gather the following information:—

- i. *Śivasvāmin* was the son of *Bhaṭṭācāryasvāmin* and he wrote this poem, the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, which he calls ‘*Sūktāsūktiḥ*’ at the instance and encouragement of the Buddhist preceptor, *Candramitra*. He talks of him in the past tense (aorist past “*abhūt*”). He might have come in contact with this religious teacher who asked him to show his talents as a poet in writing the poetic version of the *Avadāna* of *Kapphiṇa* (XX. 35, 36.)
- ii. The poet dedicates the whole poem to *Śiva* (XX. 37) which fact shows that he was not a Buddhist by faith, but that he was well versed in that Religion and could write on that subject. At the same time, from a religious point of view, he presents a state of affairs which is a compromise. His poem serves to show the process of absorption of later Buddhism by Śaivism and Vaiṣṇaviṣṇ.

1. See *Kāvya-darśa*, I, 14—19.

- iii. In the last verse (XX. 38) he glories in his work which he says is a lamp lit to remove the darkness of ignorance and which is also meant to stop the prattling of the poetasters.

“Śivasvāmin of noble deeds, the mere hearing of whose muse produced wonder in the hearts of the wise and stopped his opponents’ eagerness to speak, lit the lamp of this poem for the benefit of the righteous to remove the darkness of ignorance”. (XX, 38).

He does not mention that he flourished at the Court of King Avantivarman, like his contemporary Ratnākara, but this much is certain that he does allude to his contemporaries when he mentions ‘Virodhinām’—opponents in the field of poetry.

Śivasvāmin and Buddhism.

In the Kapphinābhyudaya (XX, 15) the Buddha preaches a sermon on the Hetumālā or ⁽¹⁾ the chain of twelve links which ties a person to bondage, and lays stress upon the achievement of salvation by detachment from the things of this world (XX, 18 cd.) (rāgatyāgānmuktirahnāyakāryā). Here the author has followed the Avadānaśataka and at the same time tried to harmonise the spirit of Buddha with the Hindu view.

King Kapphiṇa having heard the sermon of the Buddha at once exclaims :—

ग्रेचे राजा जातचित्तप्रसादो
दीक्षादक्षोदक्षिणोदाक्षिणात्यः
अत्रोदीर्णं दीर्घमान्द्यं ममाक्ष्णोः
अप्याकस्मादस्मि सुप्तप्रबुद्धः
अभिर्मर्तुंभारतीभिस्तवाहं
मनोन्मग्नः सम्यगभ्युद्धतोऽस्मि २०, १९, २०.

(1) cf. Ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavaḥ hetum teṣāṃ tathāgato hyavadat, teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.

The courteous Southern King whose mind was calmed, spoke, 'With this speech of yours the blindness of my eyes is gone. I am awakened suddenly from sleep. By these words of the Master I who was deep drowned am absolutely saved.'

If we compare these words of King Kapphina to those of Arjuna in the Bhagavaditā (18.73), we find a very close resemblance.

Arjuna says—

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा

त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत

स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः

करिष्ये वचनं तव

"Delusion is destroyed. I have obtained Memory by thy grace, O Imperishable. I am firm and all my doubts have passed. I will do your word."

King Kapphina expresses his desire to adopt the life of a monk, but the Buddha says—

सत्यं सत्यासत्यदृष्टौ सुदृष्टिः

पात्रं पुत्र त्वादृशः भिक्षुवृत्तेः

कालस्त्वस्यास्ते प्रतीक्ष्यः किया-

नायातीह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः

"It is true, my son, that you should desire to be a Bhikṣu having realised what is true and what is false. But you should wait for that stage of life. That accomplishment comes at its proper time".

Does not the poet refer to the four stages in a man's life according to Manu? He does not want the King to enter a monastery but makes the Buddha ask him to wait for some time.

But great emphasis is laid upon leading a life of selflessness as we find in the Gītā. The Buddha asks him to rule his

kingdom for the three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

मा भोगेभ्यो भङ्गुरेभ्यः प्रकृत्या

मा प्राणेभ्यो मा श्रियै मा यशेभ्यः

श्राद्धः शुद्धः श्रद्धया शधि साधो

पृथ्वीरत्नं प्राज्यरत्नत्रयार्ये ॥ २०, २६

धर्मे श्रद्धा सम्मतिः सत्यसारे

दानं वीर्यं सद्गुणानं दयायां

क्षान्तौ क्षोभः प्रेम पुरये च येषां

नूनं मुक्तास्तं गृहस्थाश्रमेऽपि २०-३२

‘Neither for enjoyment which is transitory by nature, nor for your own life, nor for glory, nor for fame, must you govern the Jewel of the Earth, but with faith, purity, and devotion for the benefit of the three Jewels—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.’

‘Those who have faith in the Law, who follow truth, who have courage in generosity, who have eagerness for compassion, who desire to be patient, and have love for Righteousness, achieve Salvation even though they are householders.’

These verses point towards the doctrine of Anāsaktiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā where the belief in leading a selfless life is preached.

This shows how much the later Buddhism was influenced by the rise of the Orthodox Hindu faith and shows the reason for the Kashmir compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism.¹

(1) See Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī* I, 9, 76, 92; II, 355.

Did Śivasvāmin write any other work besides the

Kapphiṇābhyudaya ?

As referred to in the Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya, Bhandārkar's Report, (1897) on p. xi, has the following anonymous verse in praise of Śivasvāmin:—

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
 व्यक्तप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिक्थालच्छाशिं चैकादश
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नतिशीयता वाणी शिवस्वामिनः

"Not even now does Śivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākavyas which have dvipadīs; has written eleven lacs of hymns to Śiva every day, and several other works, Nāṭakas, Nāṭikas and Prakarṇas.

This verse is also found quoted in a footnote on p. 132 of the kavikanthābharana (Kāvyamālā, 4).

In view of this eulogy Śivasvāmin seems to have written many works. But the ravages of time have left to us only the Kapphiṇābhyudaya and the verses in the Anthologies, which are attributed to Śivasvāmin. Let us hope that further search for manuscripts in India may bring to light some more of his works.

But on p. XXIX of Bühler's Report 1877 we have a reference to Śivasvāmin who enlarged kalādikṣā, a treatise on Śaiva philosophy. On p. 620 of J. R. A. S. for 1912 the authorship of the Ms. No. 67 of Stein's Collection deposited at the Indian Institute, Oxford, has been ascribed to Śrīśivasvāmin. On examination of this Ms. with the kind permission of Sir Aurel Stein it was discovered that the compiler of the Catalogue had misunderstood the statement in the colophon of that Ms. which runs:

iti śrinandīśvarāvatare śrīśivasvāminoktaṃ Sandhyāmāhat-

myam iti bhadram (in Śāradā characters). The book is in the form of a dialogue between Devī and Bhairava, which words are synonymous with Pārvatī and Śiva. In the colophon the writer means 'here ends the Sandhyāmāhātmya as told by Śrī Śivasvāmin (i. e., by Lord Śiva) to Devī. This Śivasvāmin has, therefore, nothing to do with the author of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The story of Kapphiṇa, or Mahākapphiṇa, or Kapphiṇa the Great, or Kapphiṇa the Elder, is found in the *Avadānaśataka*¹ in the *Manorathapūraṇi*;² which is a commentary on the *Anguttara Nikāya*, and in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*³

Synopsis of the Three Stories.

(1)

The Avadānaśataka.⁴

Kapphiṇa in one of his previous births was contemporary with Vipasyī and built a Vihāra. He was, then, known as Brahmadaṭṭa, King of Benares, when he served a Prateyaka Buddha, and, in the time of Kuśyapa, he achieved complete control of his senses. In the time of Sākyamuni he was known as the son of Kalpa, a King in Southern India. When he was in power he sent an insolent message to the rulers of six cities, Śrāvastī and others, in Northern India, that they must submit to his rule. The rulers of those cities took refuge under the Buddha who appeared on the scene and converted King Kapphiṇa who had come there under the command of the Buddha. He was then raised to the status of an Arhat.

(1) Bibliotheca Buddhica III.

(2) P. T. S. *Manorathapūraṇi* Vol. I.

(3) P. T. S. *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, Vol. II.

(4) *Les Annales du Muse Guimet*, Tome 18, pp. 336f and 459.

The Manorathapūraṇī.

In the days of the Padamuttarabuddha, Kappaṇa, in a previous birth lived at Haṃsavatī, and in the time of the Kassapasammāsambuddha was born at Bārāṇasī.

In the time of the Buddha he was born at Kukkuṭavattinagara as King Kappaṇa and his wife Anojā who had desired earnestly in her previous birth when she was the wife of King Kappaṇa, (who was then the chief householder in Bārāṇasī), to be so named.

King Kappaṇa heard of the Law, the Buddha, and the Saṅgha from merchants who visited his country. He renounced his kingdom and went forth to meet the Buddha, who foreseeing Kappaṇa's attitude had stationed himself on the bank of the Candabhāgā. King Kappaṇa with his followers crossed the Gaṅgā and another river before he came to the Candabhāgā, where he met the Buddha, who converted him to Buddhism. His queen, Anojā, when she heard of her husband's renunciation followed in his footsteps and came to the Buddha who converted her as well. One day Mahākappaṇa was heard saying, 'Oh happiness! Oh happiness!' The monks concluded that he was thinking of the happiness of his kingdom, but the Buddha told the monks that it was the happiness of drinking of the Law and he recited the 79th verse of the Dhammapada.

'He who drinks of the Law lives happily with a serene mind
In the Law preached by the noble, the sage ever finds his joy'.

The Dhammapada Commentary ⁽¹⁾.

Kappaṇa, in his previous birth, was a contemporary of the Buddha Padmuttara. In another birth, as a head weaver

(1) See 'Buddhist Legends' by E. W. Burlingame (H. O. S.), Vol. 28, P. 101, Vol. 29, P. 167.

he served a thousand Paccakabuddhas. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa he was the senior householder at Benares where he and his community presented a monastery to the monks. His wife presented Anojā flowers to the Buddha.

This Community of householders is born in Kukkuṭavati and their senior is King Kappina whose wife is Anojā. King Kappina and the courtiers, Queen Anojā and her ladies-in-waiting, hear of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, and they set out to visit the Buddha. They cross three rivers the Aravacchā, the Nīlavāhanā, and the Candabhāgā before they meet the Buddha who expounds to them the Law and they retire from the world.

The elder Kappina is found rejoicing and saying 'Oh happiness?' The monks think that he is reminded of his former happiness as King. The Buddha tells them that it is the happiness of the Nibbāna and recites the 79th Stanza of the Dhammapada.

The same story with very minor differences from the one given above is translated by T. Rogers in his *Buddhaghoṣa's Parables*, pp. 78—85. Its summary may be given as follows:—

There lived near Benares a thousand weavers who served a thousand Paccaka-buddhas with food and drink and built monasteries for them. They were reborn in Benares in families of wealthy men and pleased Kassapa who was then preaching the Law. Afterwards they appeared in the Nat country, and in the time of the Gotama they were born in the country of Kukkuṭavati. The head weaver's wife was the daughter of the great king of the Sāketa country. Five hundred merchants came from the country of Sāvattthi and informed the King of the 'Three Jewels', the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha. The King was filled with devotion and joy when he heard of the 'Three Jewels'. He renounced his kingdom and set off on his journey to the place where 'The Jewels' were found. He crossed the Avarakka, the Nīlavāha

and the Kandāpa rivers. On the other side of the Kandāpa river he met the Buddha who expounded the Law to him and made him a Sōtāpanna. The Queen also, with her attendants, was admitted into the Order.

Thus we possess two versions of the legend of Kapphiṇa as preserved in the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka and the Pāli commentaries. In the former King Kapphiṇa is said to have ruled in the Dakṣiṇāpāṭha and in the latter at Kukkuṭavattī, whose geographical position has not yet been ascertained. In the Avadānaśataka Kapphiṇa invades Śrāvastī, when he is converted to Buddhism by a miracle; while in the Pāli versions he voluntarily renounces his kingdom.

Sivaśvamin following the version of the Avadānaśataka in writing his Kapphiṇābhyudāya has introduced many changes and that with evident reason. The deviations from the legend in the Avadānaśataka are:

- (i) King Kapphiṇa is informed by a spy that Prasenjit, ruler of Śrāvastī is hostile towards him. He holds a Council of his allies who decide that an embassy should be despatched to Prasenajit asking him to make submission to him. Otherwise war will be declared. (Kapphiṇā. 1-V).
- (ii) The digression which follows is introduced to conform to the rules of writing a Mahākāvya. ‘
- (iii) The envoy goes to Prasenajit who refuses to submit.
- (iv) War is declared and the two opposing armies engage in a fierce battle.
- (v) The Buddha appears on the scene as the result of the prayers of Prasenajit who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of King Kapphiṇa with a miracle. He preaches to

him the Law, but when requested by King Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.

(vi) Queen Anojā is not mentioned by Śivasvāmin.

The first four of these departures from the original, are due to the regulations for writing artificial Sanskrit poetry of high standard, while the fifth one shows the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the Laws of Manu. The doctrine of 'Non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties finds full adherence by śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of a householder, who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation. Silence about Anojā also shows the tendencies of the time which preferred a householder's life to that of a monk.

The Name Kapphiṇa.

M. Burnouf in the Lotus ⁽¹⁾ suggested Kāmpilya as the locality which gave rise to the name. He gives various readings of the name as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit works.

(1) Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi. pp. 1, 294.

The readings are "kapphilla", "kaphiṇa", "kaphin". "kamphilla", "kaphina", and "kachphila".

A bibliography for the name and Story of King Kapphiṇa.

(1) The Avadānaśataka, Bib. Buddhica III.

(2) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, 1912, pp. 2. 207.

(3) The Saundarānanda ed E. H. Johnston, 1928, (XVI.90).

(4) The Lalitavistara—Bibliotheca Indica 1877, p. 1.

(5) S. B. E. Vol. XXI, 2, 2 n, 198; vol. XLIX (ii) 2, 90.

(6) Rgya Tchér Ral Pa-tr. par Ph. Ed. Fouceaux 1848.

(7) J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 25.

The Pāli Text Society Publications, 8—25.

(8) The Apadāna II, p. 468.

(continued.)

In Chinese Kapphina or Kamphilla has come to be associated with the Constellation Scorpio and is suggested that Kapphina was so called because he was born in answer to prayer address-

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- (9) Manorathapūraṇi Vol. I. p. 318.
- (10) Saṃyutta Nikāya I, pp. 145, 146; II, pp. 284-5; V, p. 315.
- (11) Aṅguttara Nikāya I, p. 25; III, p. 299.
- (12) The Thera and Therigāthā (1883) I. p. 61.
- (13) Udāna I, p. 5.
- (14) Sumaṅgalāvilāsinī p. 240.
- (15) Parmaṭṭhadīpanī Part III, pp. 78, 81.
- (16) Mahābodhivamśa p. 83
- (17) Nettiprakaraṇa p. 151.
- (18) The Commentary on Dhammapada Vol. II. pp. 112-127.
- (19) Paramatthajhotikā I, 1333; II, 440.
- (20) The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa p. 393.
- (21) Gradual Sayings, Vol. I. p. 20.
- (22) Psalms of the Brethren pp. 254, 366.
- (23) The Path of Purity, p. 455.
- (24) Kindred Sayings, Vol. I. pp. 183, 194; Vol. II, pp. 193-94; Vol. V, p. 279.
- (25) J. P. T. S. 1888, p. 66.
- (26) The Jātaka, Vol. IV. p. 112.
- (27) Further Dialogues of the Buddha (S. B. B.) Vol. V, ii, 199.
- (28) H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 82.
- (29) Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, pp. 45, 164.
- (30) Rajendralal Mitra—Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 38.

ed to the Regent of Scorpio. (1) M. Sylvain Lévi (2) has given Kosala and Kipin under the Nakṣatra Rohiṇi.

With regard to the association of the word Kapphina with Kipin or Kapin or Kophene I have to make one suggestion :

- i. In the Pāli texts (3) the King is said to have crossed the Candrabhāgā before he met the Buddha. This shows that he must have come from the North if the Candrabhāgā is the modern Chenab of the Punjab. His personal features, especially the Aryan nose, also resemble that of a man from the North. (4)
- cf. 'Do you see that monk coming to us, pale, thin, with prominent nose.'—Kindred saying II. pp. 193—4.
- ii. Kipin or kapin may denote the kingdom of Kāśmīra (5) and the poet Sivasvāmin may have chosen a theme by which he could sing the glories of Kāśmīra as well as that of Kapphina, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha.

Derivation of the word Kapphina.

Akamuna, a dictionary of Buddhist names, gives Mahākappina (Skt. Mahākālpina). In the Avadānaśataka he is said to be the son of King Kalpa (lit. a cycle of time). Kalpin will therefore mean 'one lasting an aeon.' Kalpa also means 'competent'. It is befitting that one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha should be so named, unless we take the name to refer to his kingdom Kophene or Kipin or Kapin. (7) The Lalitavistara has Kaphila and Kashphila. (8)

(2) Handbook of Chinese Buddhism by Etel (1904).

(3) The Bulletin de L'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Tome V, 1905, pp. 263, 271.

(4) See the Commentary of the Dhammapada in P. T. S.

(5) See Mrs. Rhys David's 'Sākya or Buddhist origins' p. 39. 14 f.

P. T. S. Gradual Sayings I. 20.

Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p. 256 n.

(6) See Max Müller, S. B. E. XXI 2 n.

Stein—Rājatarāṅgi II, 354.

Lévi—Journal Asiatique 1895, vi. p. 371.

Przyluski—La Légende de L'Empereur Aśoka under Kipin.

Watters—On Yuan-Chwang i, 259, 278 289 290.

(7) See V. A. Smith, Early History of India (3rd edition) pp. 266 n, 374 n.

(8) See The Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann (1902) p. 1.
Mitra (1877) p. 1.

In later Sanskrit Literature when the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* was referred to we find many variants for the name *Kapphiṇa*.

i. In the footnotes on page 202 of the *Vyākhyāsudhā*, a commentary on the *Amarrkoṣa*, we have 'Kathitābhyudaye', due to the ignorance of the exact word.

ii. In the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* we have 'Karpi', 'Kacchi' and 'Kalpi' on pages 18, 132, 132 respectively.

iii. In one of the India Office Manuscripts, No. 541, p. 118, of the *Padcandrikā* of *Rāyamukuta* it is written as *Kaṣphina*.

iv. In the *Manoramā* of *Ramānātharai* we have *Kaphila*.

If we derive it from *klṛp*, the aspirate in '*Kapphiṇa*' is inexplicable, unless there were such a word as '*kaṣpiṇa*', which would give *Kapphiṇa* like '*puppha*' '*nippala* from '*puṣpa*' and '*niṣphala*.'

King *Kapphiṇa* and *Barabudur*.

In Professor Krom's '*Barabudur*' one finds that the reliefs on the second main wall of the *Barabudur* temple in Java follow the text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a Buddhist Sanskrit work. Mr. B.C. Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., in his article in *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land—en Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch—Indie*, Deel, 19, Afl. 1, pp. 173-81, has tried to supplement Professor Krom's identification of this text. According to him the following text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is carved on the Second relief:—

न च ते महाश्रावकाः शरिपुत्रमौद्गल्यायनमहाकाश्यप-

रेवतसुभूत्यनिरुद्धनन्दिकप्पिणकात्यायनपूर्ण-

मैत्रायणीपुत्रप्रमुखा भैतवने तथागतविकुर्वितमद्राक्षुः

The *Śrāvakas* headed by *Śāriputra*, *Maudgalāyana*, *Mahākāśyapa*, *Raivata*, *Subhūti*, *Anirudha*, *Nandika*, *Kapphiṇa*, *Kāṭ-*

yâyaṇa, Pūrṇa, and Maitrâyaṇīputra did not see the miracles of Tathāgata.

The Haravijaya, Magha, and the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

In the following pages a comparison of the poem with Māgha and the Haravijaya has been made and it will be noticed how common stray phrases and even single lines in stanzas in the three Kavyas so closely resemble. These twenty-four groups of stanzas will give the reader an idea of the influence exerted by Māgha and Ratnākara (¹) on Śivasvāmin in the choice of language, thoughts and feelings.

But the similarities which exist in thought or in language in certain cases do not necessarily mean that there was actual plagiarism practised by Śivasvāmin. In the works of two inspired poets especially where they (the works) belong to the same class of poetry following the same set of rules, descriptions of the similar objects may correspond and the language they choose to express their common ideas may turn out to be more or less similar.

Moreover, in the training of a Sanskrit poet it was essential that he should set up a model for the exercise of his poetic talent and then attempt to equal and excel it. Śivasvāmin sometime does not merely borrow phrases or poetic expressions from Māgha and Ratnākara, but improves upon their ideas and expressions.

1. See i. For Māgha and Ratnākara see Jacobi W. Z. K. M. IV, p. 236 ff.

ii. Kāvyaṃimāṣā of Rājasekhara, Chap. XI.

iii. Thomas in Bhandārkar Commemoration Volume.

I.

Haravijaya

अस्त्युन्नते सुरसरिजलधायमान-
भाष्मै नषार्कचिम्बन्दरशैलशृङ्गे ।
ज्योत्स्नावतीति नगरी भुवनत्रयेक-
भूषा शशाङ्कनशरसीव शशाङ्कलेखा ॥ १,४

‘There is on the lofty peak of the Mandara Mountain, whose region is washed by the celestial Ganges and which has the glow of the morning sun, a town, Jyotsnāvati by name, an ornament of the three worlds, like the digit of the moon on the head of the bull-marked God.’ I. 4

Kapphiṇābhyudaya

अस्ति प्रया परमैदृत्यसुखायनाभि-
स्पृता गजाननगुहावसिताधिविन्ध्यम् ।
लीलावतीति नगरी कलितापदाना
दुर्गेव भावितरणा हरिशाङ्कनेन ॥ १,२

‘There is on the top of the Mountain Vindhya near Ganesh caves a town, the happy abode of gods, shedding lustre, Līlāvati by name, well known in the Apadānas, like Durgā—born on the mount Vindhya, source of trouble to the great demon, unaccompanied by Ganesha and Skanda, taking delight in battle and followed by Śiva.’ I. 2

II.

शय्यशृङ्गं सुरतकेलिविमर्दशीर्ष-
कर्णवितंसविकचोत्पलपत्रखण्डः ।
यत्राङ्गना दलयतः कुसुमयुवस्य
भग्नैः कृपाशकलेषुकीर्णशरीरात् ॥ १,१६

शय्यश्लेयोऽवसितपद्मवत्सराभिः
यस्यां रराज रमणैरुपभुक्तमुक्ता ।
उदयमम्ययमहेमविकीर्णशरीर-
खेपसङ्गतस्फुटविश्रुतशूलश्रीः ॥ १,१४

'Where the bed chamber was scattered over with bits of the petals of blossomed lotus flowers used as ear ornaments which were broken in the amorous sports and which looked like pieces of the broken daggers of the flower-weaponed god who had been molesting women.' I, 16.

'Where in bed chambers shone a line of blue lotuses used as ear ornaments thrown away by the gallant after enjoying them, closely resembling a loose chain of the untamed elephant, Kāma, which (the chain) was broken and loosed in his sport.' I, 14.

III.

रोषारुणीकृतदृशो नडकूबरस्य
हुङ्कारधूमपटलीं मुखरन्त्रभागात् ।
देत्याधिराजकवलीकरणादरेण
कृत्यामिवैक्षत जनः सहस्रोत्पतन्तीम् ॥ ७, १३

तत्रत्येभ्यश्चिततरं निरीक्षमाणा
सम्भाव्यन्निमुवनघस्मरोप्रशक्तिः ।
कृत्येवभ्रकुटिरतिस्फुटा ललाटे
शाल्वस्य प्रसरदमर्षमुल्लास ॥ ३, २८

'The people saw the mass of smoke of "humpkāra," coming out of the cavity-like mouth of Naḍakūbara, whose eyes were red with anger, as if it were the goddess Kṛtyā springing up suddenly to swallow the lord of demons.' VII. 13

'Observed with great surprise by those who were present there a distinct frown appeared on the forehead of śālva as his anger increased, which (frown) was like Kṛtyā of terrible power, eager to devour the three worlds.' III. 28

प्लोषाक्लमस्य वपुष्युदम-
ज्वालाजटालस्य विलोचनाग्नेः ।

प्रशान्तिहेतोर्विव सम्भ्रमेण

निर्यान्ति वर्मोदकशीकरोघाः ॥ ९, ६३

अन्तःस्थस्फुरदुरुमन्युवह्निमुष्ट-

स्पष्टोष्म्यं कथनविशेषशङ्कयेव ।

भीमस्य द्रुततराविद्रुतं निलीय

स्वेदाम्भो बहु बहिरानये शरीरम् ३, १९

'The drops of perspiration came fast out of the body in order to extinguish the fire of intense flames issuing from the eyes and burning the whole body.' IX. 63

'Profuse water of perspiration immediately covered the exterior of Bhīma's body which was extremely heated by the huge fire of anger blazing within as if it were afraid lest the latter should burn it more.' III. 13

V.

निरूपयामो नयवर्त्म केवलं

यथाभिलाषास्तु परस्य वृत्तयः ॥ १२, १९

वचो हि वाच्यं हितमायतौ चैरः

स्वतः प्रमाणं परतस्तु भूपतेः

स्वतन्त्रवृत्ता विधयो विधेरिव ॥ २, २४

'We shall only deliberate upon the policy; beyond that your own sweet will shall be the guide in the course of action-' XII. 19

'The spies have to tell what will be beneficial in the future. After that, the King's ordinances proceeding independently like those of fate are authority in themselves.' II. 24

VI.

Haravijaya

विभर्ति पारिप्लवतामुदन्वतः

तदूर्मिससर्गकृतामिवोत्थिता ।

अवेमि लक्ष्मीर्नयवर्त्मनागता

स्थिरं निवृण्णाति नृपे पदं पुनः ॥ १२, ३३

‘Lakṣmī arising out of the ocean carries with her the fickleness due to her association with the waves, but I know, when she is acquired by a King through policy, she fixes her abode.’ XII. 33

Kapphinā blegudaya.

गुरुतरगिरिमन्यक्षोमितक्षोम्यसिन्धु-

व्यतिकररसमोग्या वासनावासितेव ।

समभिमतविमर्दा रौद्रकर्मप्रियेषु

प्रसरति रममाणा तादृशेष्वेव लक्ष्मीः ॥ ४, ३१

‘The Goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī), as if permeated with a liking for enjoying the play of the waters of the restless sea which is disturbed by churning with the lofty mountain, is fond of strife and delights in moving among such people as like violence.’ IV. 31

VII.

अभ्येयुषां विरचिताञ्जलिबन्धमुर्वी-

तृष्णा दयर्द्रमनसा परिरत्तासून् ।

येनोपतापशमनैकरसेनखङ्ग-

धाराजलेः शमनीयत शत्रवाणाम् ॥ १६, ३९

फूत्कारपावकशिखानिकरो दिधत्तु

राक्रान्तकालियफणानिकुरुम्बमुक्तः ।

निर्वापितः सपदि यस्य शिखराडमूल-

निष्यन्दमानयमुनाजलनिर्मरोधैः ॥ १६, ७४

‘Who, with a compassionate heart and with the one aim of alleviating suffering, spared the lives of his enemies, who approached with folded hands, and quenched their thirst for territory with the water of the edge of his sword.’ XVI 39

‘The mass of flames, blown out by the numerous hoods of Kāliyanāga who was subdued, was at once extinguished, the moment it was ready to burn, by the current of the water of the Yamunā flowing below his crest.’ XVI. 74

उद्धास्य कालकस्वात्मनवाभ्युत्साहं

देवेन येन नरठोर्जितगर्जितेन ।

निर्वापितः सकल एव रणे रिपूणां

धाराजज्ञैस्त्रिजगति ज्वलितः प्रतापः ॥ १,१४

This verse combines XVI, 39 and 74 of the Haravijaya.

'Raising the fresh clouds of swords dreadful like death, this King, with his terrible thunder has totally extinguished the blazing prowess of his enemies in the three worlds with the waters of the flashes (of his swords), just as raging heat is brought to an end by showers of rain poured by God Indra amid thunder.' I. 24

VIII.

तत्तस्य कश्चिदुपयातु सर्मापमाशु

सन्देयदानचतुरो दितिजस्य दूतः ।

भिन्नेतरप्रकृतिमण्डलकार्यतत्त्व-

बोधे यतः प्रणिधिरेव रिपोस्तमाहुः ॥ १६,७९

तदुपान्तमियातु कश्चन

द्विषदोक्तस्तवशासनात्पुरः ।

रिपुसंप्तवजिष्णुभूमुजां

परमास्त्रं खलु दूतभारती ॥ १,३९

'Then let some spy clever in conveying messages at once go to him, the descendant of Diti; for the emissary is said to be the only means of knowing the truth about the affairs of an enemy's kingdom, his allies and

his foes.' XVI. 79

'Let some one by your command first go to him in the country of the enemy. In deed' the words of a messenger serve as a weapon for Kings who desire to conquer a host of enemies.' V. 39

IX

विभ्रासारधिकगुणैस्त्वमङ्गनानां

हस्ताग्नेः प्रसभमकारि पल्लवानाम् ।

प्रत्यग्नोज्ज्वलनिजशोभया सरागैः

भग्नानामपि पुनरुक्त एव मङ्गः ॥१७,१२

त्विषानया करकमलस्य खरिडते

दधासि किं मयि पुनरुक्तखरिडनाम् ।

समालपन् मधुरमधुव्रतारवे-

मृगेक्षणाभिदमिव बालपल्लवः ॥ ९,१६

'The fingers of ladies, which were possessed of greater excellence and which were red, rendered the impetuous plucking of petals superfluous, for they (the petals) had already been vanquished by their fresh brilliant lustre.' XVII. 52

'Why do you cause (by plucking) an unnecessary wound to me who have already been hurt by the lustre of your lotus-like hands'—thus did the young sprout seem to address the fawn-eyed one through the sweet hum of the bees.' IX. 16

X.

वीचीक्षोभाविभवत्सम्भ्रमत्वात्

कान्तं काचित् सस्वजे जातसौख्या ।

प्रायेणोत्थं श्रेयसे विक्रियापि

प्रार्दुभूता कल्पते कोमलानाम् ॥ १८,४१

'Another (lady) embraced her beloved when' she became restless on account of the disturbance caused by the waves; and she was delighted. It often happens that even an apparent calamity turns out to be a source of happiness for the delicate ones.' XVIII. 41

प्रतिनववनिताानितान्ततान्ता

जलममतीर्य ततस्तरङ्गभीरुः ।

अगलितमलगद् गले स्वभर्तु-

र्विपदपि कुत्रचिदावहेत् फलाग्र्यम् ॥१०,२१

'The young lady who was much vexed by her new rival entered the water and, when afraid of the waves, clung close to the neck of her husband. Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results.' X. 21

XI.

व्यक्तोपकारमधुना स्थगितासु दिक्षु

प्रेयोगृहं सुखमलक्षितमेव यामः ।

धम्मिलबन्धरुत्तिरेरभिसारिकाभिः

प्रेम्णा तमश्चिरमितीव शिरोभिर्ह १९,४३

'Now that the quarters have become obscure, we shall easily go unnoticed to the dwellings of our lovers. The ladies going to their lovers seemed for a long time to bear lovingly on their heads the darkness as a bene factor in the form of beautifully braided tresses.' XIX. 43

प्रियवसतिप्रयाणसमये पिदधत्पदवी-

मिदमुपकारि न स्तम इतीव विनम्रगमाः ।

अलिमलिनस्य वेणिवलयस्य रुचां निचये-

रभिसरशोत्सुकाः प्रियतमाः पुपुषुः सुदृशः ॥ ११,३९

'This darkness is our well-wisher for it conceals our path at the time of our going to the dwellings of our lovers,' so the loving ladies of beautiful eyes walking softly fostered it by the 'masses of gleam' of their braids, blackened by bees, when they were eager to set out to their rendezvous.' XI. 35

XII.

सस्तान्धकारवसनां रजनोपुरन्ध्री-

मालिङ्गात् प्रियसुधास्रुति दिक्सखीभिः ।

दूरं मृणालशकलामलतन्मयूख-

हासच्छटाञ्चितमुखीभिरिवापससे ॥ २०,४७

'When the moon (emitter of delightful ambrosia) had embraced the damsel of the night who had thrown off her garment of darkness, then withdrew her friends, the quarters, whose

श्यामां समाश्लिष्य सरागमिन्दौ

नभः स्थलं तत्पामिवाधिष्ठे ।

तमोमुचः सख्य इवोस्लसन्त्यो

दिशः शने दूरमिवापसस्रुः ॥ १२,१९

'When the moon who embraced the night out of love ascended the terrace-like sky, the quarters which were delighted, moved gradually away as if

faces were brightened with they were the friends (of smiles denoted by the rays, Night).’ XII. 15
white like bits of lotus-stalks.’

XX. 47

XII.

आह्लादेहतुनिरवद्यशरीरयष्टि-

मृगीदृशामङ्गलतानुषङ्गि-

लावण्यकान्तिकलुषीकरणेन तासाम् ।

लावण्यलक्ष्मीपिहितप्रमेण ।

असीत् कुशययदृशामयथार्थतैव

यथावदप्याकलितेन तासां

पर्यस्तमास्वरुचामपि भूषणानाम् ॥ २३, ४६

स्फुटा न लेभे प्रतिकर्मणा श्रीः ॥ १२, ३६

‘The ornaments, which scattered brilliancy all round, did not serve their purpose in the case of the lotus-eyed ones for they defiled the beauty of the slender limbs which were spotless and a source of delight.’ XXIII. 46

‘The toilet of the fawn-eye ladies, even though carefully done, did not attain any grace, for its beauty was overshadowed by the natural loveliness of their tender, creeper-like bodies.’ XII. 36

XIV.

उदयशिखरिशृङ्खलेदिकायां

प्राचीश्वासोपममरुदधिप्राप्यशैलाश्मशय्यं

नवरुधिरारुणकान्तिं भानुविम्बम् ।

संप्रत्यायां दिशि नवनवां वासरस्य प्रसूतिम्

अनुकृतदिवसप्रवेशलक्ष्मी-

आविर्भावो भवति रुधिरावारमिश्रस्य सद्यः

प्रसवविशङ्कटगर्भशय्यमासीत् ॥ २८, ८०

साङ्कदन्यां ककुभि कलमस्यैव सन्ध्यातपस्य

॥ १९, १८

‘The orb of the sun, whose brightness was like the redness of fresh blood, appearing on the altar of the top of Udayācala, was like the embryo from which was to emerge the glory of the day.’ XXVIII. 80

‘At the time of the birth of the day on the bed of Udayācala, the breeze seeming to be the sigh of the Eastern quarter, there appears in the Eastern direction the twilight sun as if it were the young one of an elephant besmeared with blood.’

XV. 18

XV.

इतिगिरमुपकर्य प्रेयसीबाहुबन्ध-

व्यतिकरकृतरत्नावपकव्यक्तचिह्नम् ॥ २९, ६३

'Having heard these voices (Śiva), showing (on his neck) the marks of golden bracelets which were tied to the arms of his beloved (left his bed).' XIX. 63

इति गिरमुपकर्य मागधीयां

श्लयशयनः सुहृदोगृहेऽभिरत्य ॥ १६, ३९

'Having thus heard the panegyrics of the bards, (the King), after enjoying himself at the house of his friend, left his bed.' XVI 35

XVI.

स शृण्वन्नात्मनोऽभिर्यां

राजमार्गानिलङ्घयत् ॥ ३२, ३१

'He hearing his own praise passed along the main road.' XXXII. 31

जगाहेऽविरलां राजद्वारं दूतो जितद्विषः ॥ १६, ११

'The messenger of him who had conquered his enemies entered the gate of the palace which was thronged with people.'

XVII.

क्लृपेऽपि मार्दवोपेता वामाचारेऽपि दक्षिणाः ।

पापेऽपि शुद्धमतयस्त्वादृशा भुवि दुर्लभाः ॥ ३२, ७९ सौम्यास्तेजस्यपि स्युः के द्वित्रा अपि भवादृशाः ॥

१६, २८

'People like you who are soft-hearted towards the harsh, straightforward towards the crooked, and pure-minded towards the sinful are scarce in the world.' XXXII. 79

'There are but two or three persons like you, who are humble even in wealth, gentle in deeds even in power, and modest even in authority.' XVI. 28

XVIII.

शौर्यद्रुमो भुवनकाननसौम्यराति-

सौमन्तिनीजनजटादृढमूलबन्धः ३३, ६

शौर्यद्रुमः समधित द्विषदां गृहेषु

शाखाशिफानिबडतीव्रमयीमवस्थाम् १, ३१

'The tree of valour, in the border forests of whose kingdom, had its roots firm in the matted hair of the matrons of the enemy.' XXXIII. 6

'The tree of valour grew stronger in the dwellings of his enemy taking a firm hold with thick fibrous roots and branches.' I. 31

XIX

Māgha

प्राग्भारतः पतादेहेदमुपत्यकासु
शृङ्गारितायतमहेभकराममम्भः ।
संलक्षते विविधरत्नकरानुविद्ध-
मृद्धप्रसारितसुराधिपचापचारु ॥४,४९

'Here on the foot of the hills comes down from the top the water-fall, resembling the long and decorated tusk of an elephant; and as it is pierced by the rays (of colour) from the jewels it looks like a rainbow shooting upwards., IV. 49

Kapphiṇābhyudāya

प्राग्भारदीर्घदृष्टदुत्थितनिर्मराम्बु-
लाम्बिप्रवाहविकरालकरः करोति ।
सिन्दूरसुन्दरपरागपिशङ्गमूर्धा,
रम्भाविजृम्भितरदोयमिभानुकारम् ॥६,९९

This mountain looks like an elephant, who has a prominent trunk in the form of a long torrent of water which pours out from underneath the big rock on its top, who has its head made yellow by the pollen of the Sindūra flowers, and who has the plantain trees for its long tusks. VI. 55

XX.

अवजितमधुना तवाहमक्षो-
रुचिरतेयत्यवनम्य लज्जयेव ।
श्रवणकुवलयं विलासवत्याः
अमररुतेरुपकर्णमाचक्षे ॥७,६०

तनुत्विषा गुणगणशालिनःपुरः
क्षमा स्थितिर्न सुतनुलोचनस्य ते ।
श्रुतिस्पृशोऽसितनलिनस्य षट्पदः
क्वञ्चान्निति व्यधित विगर्हयामिव ॥ ९,३९

'Now I am vanquished by the lustre of your eyes', thus the lotus as if drooping in shame, whispered into the ears of the playful one by means of the humming of the bees'. VII. 60

'It does not become you of feeble lustre to enter into rivalry with the splendid eyes of the fair-limbed one: thus the bee by its humming seemed to reproach the ear-lotus which touched her eyes.' IX. 35

XXI.

आध्राय श्रमजमनिन्द्यगन्धन्वं

निश्वासश्चसनमसक्तमङ्गनानाम् ।

आरण्याः सुमनस ईषिर न भृङ्गे-

रौचित्यं गणयति को विशेषकामः ॥८,३०

मुखपातितपुरन्ध्रिमैरभोक्त्रैः

नलिनकुलेश्वलिभिः कुजापलीलाम् ।

कलयितुमलसत्त्वमाललम्बे

भवति दृढा मयुषायिनां क वृत्तिः ॥ १०,१४

'Having freely smelt the sighing breath of the ladies, which was pure and fragrant and which arose from weariness,) the bees (no longer) had (any desire for the wild flowers. Who having an intense passion cares for propriety?' VIII. 10

'The bees eager for the fragrance emitted by the mouths of the married women became indifferent to the art of making their abode in beds of lotuses. Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose.' X, 14

XXII.

व्यसरन्नु भूधरगुहान्तरतः

पटलं बहिर्बहलपङ्कुरुचि

दिवसावसानपटुनस्तमसो

बहिरस्य चाधिकमभक्तगुहाः ॥ ९,१९

किमलम्बताम्बरविलग्नमधः

किमवर्धतोर्ध्वमवव्रीतस्ततः ।

विससार तिर्यगथ दिग्म्य इति

प्रचुरीभवन्न निरधारि तमः । ९, २०

'Did the mass of darkness, thick like mud, issue, at the close of day, out of the mouths of the mountain caves, or did it, arriving from the outer regions, establish itself there; did it suspend itself from the sky or shoot up from the surface of the earth; or did it proceed sideways from the quarters? Thus as the darkness gathered in, it became difficult to ascertain (where it came from).' IX. 19-20

दिव इव निस्तुते गिरिनीदीप्य इवोच्छसिते-

र्भुव इव सम्प्लुतेः क्षीतितलादिव चोत्सलितैः

जलधितलोद्यवैरिव ककुभ इवोत्फलितैः

तिमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेषि मसामीलनैः ॥ ११, २०

'Masses of darkness, black as ink, appeared in great abundance, and it seemed as if they had issued forth from the sky or heaved up from the mountains and rivers or sprung up from the ground or shot up from the nether regions or burst forth from the surface of the ocean or had been wafted from the directions.' XI. 30

XXIII.

रजनीमवाप्य रुचमाप शशी

सपादि व्यभूषयदसाविषिताम्

अविलम्बितक्रममहो महता-

मितरेतरोपकारकृतिमच्चरितम् ९, ३३

कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति

प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्याः

तथा हि लब्ध्वा ऽम्युदयं समुद्रा-

दवीवृधत्तं शशभृत् स्वधान्ना ॥ १२, १८

Kapphiñābhyudaya XII, 18.

The moon, coming in contact with the Night, attained brightness and instantly adorned her (the night) as well. Oh, it is the demeanour of the great that they look to mutual good without any delay. IX. 33

'The noble return the good done to them even at the cost of their lives; therefore, the moon having got her glory from the ocean swelled it by her own lustre.' XII, 18

अकृत्वा हेलया पादमुच्चैर्ध्वंसु विद्विषाम् पलायमानं पुरुषं रक्तपङ्कज्जुते पथि
कषङ्कनरमनालम्बा कीर्तिर्धामधिराहति ।२,९२ अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्यति १७,३

‘How can glory ascend the sky unsupported without stepping sportively on the lofty heads of the enemies?’ II, 52. How can the Goddess of Fortune, treading with soft step in the road flooded with the mire of blood, follow a person who is taking to flight (from the battlefied).’ XVIII.

Style of Sivasvāmin and his thought.

Sivasvāmin has shown his skill in his choice of language, in his use of poetic imagery, in his mastery in using *double entendre* and in his effective employment of word-figures. At times he improves upon the idea expressed by his predecessors, especially Māgha and Ratnākara (see the comparison), and in some cases he brings into play his powers of concise expression and charming style to such an advantage that he even excels Ratnākara:

शोकं कोकाः कुमुदमलयः सान्द्रवाता दिगन्तान्

दीपावतीरभिमतभुजाम्यन्तरं चाभिसर्यः ।

उपोत्तनाः काष्ठा निषदनमिना वर्हिणो वासयष्टी

व्योमापान्तास्तिमिरपटलीस्तुल्यमेव त्यजन्ति ॥ १५,२१

‘The ruddy geese give up their sorrow, the bees the lotus flowers, the moist breeze the ends of quarters, the lamps their flames, the ladies the clasp of their lover’s arms, the moonlight the

directions, the lords their homes, the peacocks their roosts, and the darkness the remote parts of the sky—all simultaneously (with the rising of the Sun)'.

The same idea is expressed by Ratnākara in ten stanzas in the Haravijaya, XXVIII, 108-118.

For conciseness we may quote :

दशनवसने लौहित्येन स्तने च तथोष्मणा

मधुपपटलीभूते धूमश्रिया कबरीमरे ।

सुरूपि हृदये तासां ज्वालाकुलेर्दृष्टि कज्जले-

रिति परिणमन् कन्दर्पाग्निर्विभक्त इवाभवत् ॥ १४,२३

'The fire of love was, as it were, apportioned while being transformed—its redness was in the lip, its warmth in the breast, its smoke in the braid which was covered by bees, its flame in the heart, and its soot (in the form of collyrium) in the eye.'

समजानि न तत्प्रेम त्यक्तं यदीषदपीर्षया

स्मरसुखसखी नासावीर्ष्या विना कलहेन या ।

न खलु कलहः सोऽन्योन्यं यः प्रसादनवर्जितः

प्रसदगविधिर्नासौ यूनो न येन विलिख्यरे ॥ १४,७

'There was no love engendered by young people which was untainted with jealousy howsoever small, and jealousy a friend of Kāma's mirth unaccompanied by bickerings was not genuine. These bickerings which lacked mutual conciliation did not serve their proper purpose, and that conciliation was useless which did not melt (the hearts of) young people.'

How close is the sequence of emotions in:

समाधित न या रागिद्वन्द्वं बभूव न सा सखी

न मदनवशे यावस्थातां न तावपि रागिणो ।

मिथुनिमिषुभिर्विव्याध क्रमेण न स स्मरो

न्यविशत न यन्मांसग्रन्थीर्न विद्धमभूच्च तत् ॥ १४,४

'She who did not bring about the meeting of loving couples was not a true friend, and they were not true lovers who were not swayed by Kāma. He was not Kāma who did not pierce the couples with arrows and that was no piercing which did not enter into the vitals.'

The use of the word 'muhuh' in the following stanza adds force and beauty to the expression:—

मुहुरविशदा विश्रम्भार्द्रा मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो

मुहुरसरलाः प्रेमप्रह्ला मुहुर्मुहुरीप्सरा

वितथशपथोपालम्भाज्ञा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः ।

पखिवृधिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मधुरोक्तयः ॥ १४, १२

'Now indistinct, now moistened with confidence, now reminding of past bickerings, now cunning, now full of affection, now unsteady, now full of false oaths, promises, taunts and commands and again sweet—thus did the mutual pleasant talk prolong endlessly.'

His play of fancy ('utprekṣā') is clear from the following:—

चषकाभिमुखं यदा ननाम

प्रमदा भर्तरि भाषितान्यगोत्रे ।

प्रतिबिम्बपदेन जातलज्जा

मधुनीव प्रविवेश तेन नूनम् ॥ १३, ३६

'When the young lady leaned on the goblet as her husband called out her rival's name, she was ashamed and seemed to enter the wine, indeed, by means of her reflection.'

रुरुचे चषकार्पिताननाया

युवतेरुत्पलषट्पदोऽग्रवर्ती ।

समदादिव निर्गतस्तदानीं

मनेसो भाममयो महान्धकारः ॥ १३, २४

‘The lotus-bee in front of the lady’s face which was reflected, was like the darkness of pride which had come out of her heart that was full of exhalation.’

The sunset causes a dismay in the heart of Cakravāka birds and the lotus ponds that were so gay and charming look dreary and desolate. Mark the pathos in the following:—

श्लथजलवेणयः पतति वारिणि तिग्मकरे
 वपुरत्ननम्रपद्मवदनाः शतपत्रभुवः ।
 विद्युतरथाङ्गनामपृथुपद्मतिनिधूतिभिः
 करतलपीडनाभिरिव जघ्नुरथ व्यथिताः ॥ ११, २९

‘The afflicted lotus ponds, with their listless watery braids and drooping lotus faces, smote their body with the palms of their hands as if with the flutterings of the separated ‘Cakravāka’ birds, when the Sun plunged into the water.’

स्फुरति तदेव मण्डनविधौ मधुपायिकुलं
 विकसति सैव सान्द्रमकरन्दरसोज्ज्वलता ।
 अथ च गतेऽस्तमंशुमति नैव बभौ नलिनी
 ध्रुवमसुपात एव दयितच्युतिरेतादृशाम् ॥ ११, २४

‘The same swarm of bees hovers round to decorate it and the transparent flower juice glitters as before, but lotus never did bloom when the Sun had set. For such persons separation from their beloved means death.’

हसितेन जितेव तर्जितेन
 क्षयितेवोन्मथितेव निर्धुतेन ।
 मधुपानमदेन मानिनीनां
 मनसः कापि जगाम मानवृत्तिः ॥ १३, १८

‘As if vanquished by jokes, weakened by taunts, shaken off by frolics, the pride of high-minded ladies disappeared somewhere from their heart,’

प्रतिमाहिमराशिमरासवस्थः

परिपीतो हिमशीतलस्वभावः ।

कुरुते मम कम्पमेष शेत्या

दिवि मुग्धा मदघूर्णनं विवेद ॥ १३,८

‘The bashful lady thought that the shiver of intoxication was the result of the drinking in of the moon reflected in the wine, who, being naturally cool like snow, causes trembling on account of her coldness.’

Simple language combined with clearness of thought is seen in the use of *yad*:

यदनिष्ठितवस्तु यत्सहासं

यदकारडोद्धति यत्स्वभावमुग्धम् ।

यदसाधुपदं स्वलत्पदं यत्

तदुदेत क्षीवधियां नवं कथामु ॥ १३,१७

‘Whatever was of unsteady purpose, ridiculous, irrelevant, naturally absurd, and out of etiquette, was found afresh in the talks of drunken ones.’

अलसं वचनं दृशो विलोलाः

स्थिरविभ्रम्भरसानि चेष्टितानि ।

कलहेऽपि रतिं व्यतन्वतासां

मैधुना सूपकृतं मनोभवस्य ॥ १३,२०

‘Lazy talk, tremulous eyes, and a behaviour full of confidence, were a source of pleasure even when they quarrelled. Wine rendered a great service to Kāma.’

The description of the rising of the moon is full of fine ideas put in graceful language (it will be found in the comparison with Ratnākara given elsewhere). At the same place will be found the description of the appearance of the masses of darkness which, when compared with the two verses from Māgha is more concise and effective.

चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशोभ्रान्त्वा समेतैः सुखं

विभ्रान्तं शयितं प्रभुक्तमुषितं स्कन्धे फलेः प्रश्रिते ।

तस्यैवोन्मथितस्य दुष्टकरिणा मार्गदुमस्याधुना

कारीषाय कथन्ति शोषपरुषां गोपालवालास्त्वचम् ॥ सुभा. ८१०

‘The dried hard bark of the wayside tree which has now been uprooted by a wretched elephant, (but formerly) on whose trunk laden with fruits various birds having roamed in ten quarters happily used to rest, sleep, eat and dwell together, is being peeled by the cowherd-maids to be used as fuel.’

गतो ऽस्तं घर्माशुर्व्रजसहचरोनाडमधुना

सुखं भ्रातः सुप्याः सुजनचरितं वायस कृतम् ।

मयि स्नेहाद्वाष्पस्थगितनयनायामपवृणो

रुदत्यां यो यातस्त्वयि स त्रिलपत्येष्यति कथम् ॥ सुभा० ११४०

‘The Sun has set. Now go to the nest of your mate, brother, sleep well. Crow, enough of the conduct of that good fellow. How can that pitiless creature, who went away even when my eyes were obstructed by tears, which came out of affection, come at your bewailing?’

मधुलिहः प्रविलोक्य हिमाहतां

परिचितामपि पङ्कजिनीं जहुः ।

क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्मभिः

ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ॥८,९२

‘The bees when they saw the lotus pond made desolate with snow forsook it even though (they were) so familiar (with it). Alas, where can the foul-minded people have a steady and enduring affectionate attitude?’ *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* VIII, 52

Alliteration, when it adds force to expression and avoids the intricacies of meaning is very carefully employed in the eighth canto, where the last part of every verse is a ‘yamaka:’

ससुदिते सुरभौ पथिकाः पथि

स्थिरधृतिक्षति चुक्षुभिरे क्षणात् ।

शशभृतीव समीयुषि सिन्धव्रो

वितिमिरे तिमिरेचितवीचयः ॥ ८,९

‘When the spring season set in, the travellers on their way losing their courage for a moment, were disturbed, just as at the rise of the bright moon the oceans become agitated with their waves disturbed by fish.’ *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* VIII, 9

Some of the verses attributed to śivāsvāmin in the Anthologies are written in the style of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, viz.

भोक्तं भङ्क्त्वा न भुङ्क्ते कुटिलविसलताकोटिमिन्दोर्वितर्कात्

ताराक्रायंस्तृषार्तो न पिबति पयसः स्थूलबिन्दून्दलस्थान् ।

छायां सध्वान्तसन्ध्येतलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति चाम्भोरुहाणां

कान्ताविश्लेषभारुर्दिनमपि रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥ सुभा० १८२६

‘The ‘cakravāka’ bird having broken it to eat, does not eat the crooked bit of lotus-stalk, thinking it to be the moon. It does not drink, even though thirsty, the big drops of water looking like stars on the lotus leaves. It takes the lustre of the lotuses dappled by bees to be the twilight accompanied by darkness,

(Thus) overtaken by the cowardice of separation from its beloved it thinks even the day to be night.'

या बिम्बौष्ठरुचिर्न विद्रुममणिः स्वप्नेऽपि तां दृष्टवान्

हासश्रीः मुदशस्तपोभिरपि किं मुक्ताफलैः प्राप्यते ।

तत्कान्तिः शतशोऽपि वह्निपतनैर्हेम्नः कुतः सेत्स्यति

त्यक्त्वा रत्नमयीं प्रयासि दयितां कस्मै घनायाध्वग ॥ सुभा० १०९१

'That gleam of lips was never even dreamt of by the 'vidrūma' jewel. Can that lustre of laughter of the beautiful-eyed one be obtained by pearls even by penances? Whence can that loveliness be achieved by gold even by falling into fire a hundred times? Leaving your beloved who is so rich in jewels, for what riches, O traveller, are you journeying?'

His fondness for using terms from dramaturgy in *double entendre* is clear from several stanzas (See the list of allusions) in the poem and the verse in Kṣemendrarā's *Kavikāṇṭhābharaṇam* which he attributes to Śivāsvāmin is a proof of the same tendency. For example, KKBH V, 1.

आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनामानन्दिविन्दूदयं

भावप्राहि शुभप्रवेशकगुणं गम्भीरगर्भस्थिति ।

उच्चैर्वृत्तिसपुष्करव्यातिकरं संसारविष्कम्भकं

भिन्द्यान्वो भरतस्य भाषितमिव ध्वान्तं पयोयामुनम् ॥

'May the waters of the Yamunā displaying a delightful appearance, being a collection of pleasant drops, captivating the feelings, possessing the virtue of auspiciousness for those who bathe in it, having a deep solemn flow and a strong current, having clusters of lotuses, and being a means of putting a stop to the cycle of rebirths, destroy the darkness of your ignorance, like the words of Bharata which manifest their form full of *Rasas* (sentiments), show the development of *Bindu* (germ),

are possessed of **Bhāva** (emotion), have the merit of a good **Praveśaka** (Interlude), contain a profound **garbhasandhi** (middle juncture), have a lofty **vṛtti** (style), are pervaded by **Puṣkara** (the art of dancing), and abound in **Viṣkambhakas** (a variety of interludes)'.

Compare **Kapphiṇābhy**, XIII, 40:—

‘अग्रे विकीर्णनिभृतप्रणयाद्रिवाक्य-
 पुष्पाञ्जलिः सरसविभ्रमसूत्रधारः ।
 प्रस्तावनां दयितसन्धिरसैः शिवस्य
 वृद्धिं व्यधत्त रमणीरतिनाटकस्य ॥

‘The stage manager in the guise of delightful amorous sport, scattering in the beginning, the handful of flowers in the form of quiet loveful conversation and with the Emotion caused by the union of the lovers, accomplished his prologue to the auspicious drama of erotic pleasures of the young ladies’.

It is sometimes suggested that *double entendre* and word play in Sanskrit poetry takes away much of the charm in *kāvya*-style. No doubt it is by no means easy to understand such pieces. But they bring out the richness of the language and the skill of the poet to mould the material in different metres. The *citra kāvya* was developed with the art of arraying the armies in different forms in the battlefield. Moreover, high class of sanskrit poetry, which is often called ‘artificial’ was written for the Society who could appreciate such niceties and had the time to indulge in such intellectual pleasures. Sanskrit poets gave the word puzzles a poetic garb which made them more interesting and charming.

Four examples of *double entendre* are given below:—

द्विपदी पदतालयोगभाजः

सहस्रारंगवराहरासभाजः ।

दधते रमसा विलासयोभां

सम्मेषोऽद्विरिमा नटस्त्रियश्च ॥ ६, १९

'This mountain and the actresses distinctly look graceful—this mountain rich in animals such as antilopes, boars, and asses and goats; and the actresses, who are smiling, are captivating, are skilled in providing amusement, and are adept in singing 'dvīpadis' to the accompaniment of their dance.'

अचल एष चकास्ति सुरश्रिया

कुररकासाकराततयानया

जगति कुञ्जमुवास्य विराजितं

कुररकीसाकिराततयानया

'This mountain shines with the glory of gods, it is rich in ospreys, apes and hogs, and its grove shines with its path covered with the 'kurara', 'kisa', and 'kirāta' plants'.

The stanza I, 23 (Kapphinābhy) can be taken to mean the epithets of Kapphiṇa, Śiva and a mountain, *viz.*

तस्यामह्निकटकस्फुटवीरभद्र-

सम्पृक्तशक्तिमहिमामितभूतिशोभी

भूभृद्भूव बहुदर्शनभोग्यमूर्तिः

श्रीकाष्णिगप्रभुविन्दुकलवचूडः ॥

'In that city reigned king Kapphiṇa who had (an emblem like) the digit of the moon on his crest, who was of immeasurable glory on account of the unrivalled superiority of the united valour of the distinguished heroes of his famous metropolis, whose presence was worthy of enjoyment (even) in (spite of) repeated visits; who resembled a mountain of enjoyable form, which is crested with Indukalā plants, which is possessed of abundant lustre that springs from the luxuriant 'vīrabhadra' grass growing on its formidable ridges; and who was like Śiva who has the lord of serpents for his bracelet, who has the digit of the moon for his crest, who has an efficient array of 'gaṇas', and whose form is worthy of enjoyment even in many visits, and who is possessed of unlimited glory on account of the valour of Vīrabhadra.'

प्रकृतिविकृतिमाजो भंगुरांगस्य भूपः
 उलगातिषु सहिष्णोर्वैरिवर्गाकुलस्य
 रुतानि ति शरीरस्येव राज्यस्य राजन्
 फलमिह परलोकोद्धारशुद्धेः किमन्यत् । ४ । २४ ।

‘O king, what can be the perpetual reward of a kingdom, whose constituents are subject to change and alterations of the ‘prakṛtis’, which suffers from movements of conspiracies and which is disturbed by enemies, other than the glory which comes from the capture of an enemy’s country; just as in the case of the body whose limbs are perishable, which is subject to the alterations of elements, which is disturbed by passions and which endures all the trickeries of delusion, there can be no better reward than its purification and betterment for life in the next world.’

The poem abounds in *double entendre* and magnificent descriptions. A list of stanzas containing play on words will show its richness in that branch. The figure of corroboration is illustrated by the list of maxims and sayings.

Thus, Śiva-svāmin has tried to give expression to his feelings regarding the life at court of the time he lived in. Saturated with the traditional ideals of writing a ‘mahākāvya,’ he has described all that was required in such a poem. But the didactic character of his ‘mahākāvya’ is evident from the finish of his poem.

In his conception of kingly duties, and in his description of a kingdom’s prosperity, he conforms merely to the classic ideals laid down by the long line of Hindu law-givers. But singularly enough in the final message to the world, which he puts in the mouth of the Buddha, he reflects, as though in a mirror, the developing tendency of the period to attempt a compromise between Buddhism and orthodox Hinduism. To a Buddhist, the ideal existence is that of a monk who by following the eightfold path is qualifying for the final struggle to break the bonds of the birth-cycle. According to this conception of monastic life, therefore, nothing could have been more calculated to bring eternal glory and ‘nirvāṇa’ to king

Kapphiṇa than the change of kingly attire for the mean garb of a Bhikṣu. But the Poet's Buddha is the final link in the chain of Avatars and what could have been more appropriate for him than to end with the message of his predecessor Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and to exhort King Kapphiṇa to serve the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha best by discharging his own regal duties according to the law of Dharma ? We, therefore, find in this poem the treatment of a tendency which found its final expression in another fellow-Kāshmirī Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāracarita.

His Language And Metre.

In the use of language Śivasvāmin is by no means less important than Māgha and Ratnākara. His fondness to coin new words such as 'āśāvalli' and 'digvalli' for 'kalpalatā', 'harigopikā' for 'indragopikā'; his use of rare feminine words like 'svādanā'; 'sambhāṣaṇā', 'iṣu', 'sarasi', 'ṣaṭpadi', 'kaḍyā', 'prasunnā', 'paṭali', 'kalaśi', 'kalasi', 'garjā', 'rujā', 'muraajā', his employment of rare words like 'akathamkatha', 'ahamahamikā', 'ārāhka', 'ukhā', 'rama', all these are evidence of the richness of his vocabulary and mark him out to be a literary artist of great eminence who experimented with new material and made use of the choicest and rarest forms of expression. He has made a profuse use of Aorists in the Ninth Canto, of Past Perfect forms in the Fourteenth, and of desideratives and denominatives like his fellow writers of Mahākāvyas. The shortening of the long vowel in 'prasūkā' to 'prasukā' (VII,10); and the lengthening of the initial in 'akasmāt' to 'ākasmāt' (XX,20) are departures from the strict rules of Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa and are introduced to comply with the adjustment of metre.

In his Mahākāvya, Śivasvāmin has throughout, made a very apt choice of the style (rīti) to confirm to the sentiment (rasa), and by that harmony imbues the reader with an appeal and charm of his own. In the first five cantos wherein he describes

the scenes in the court of a king attended by chieftains whose enthusiasm is at its height in anticipation of a war, he employs 'ojoguṇa' in the service of 'vīrarasa'. In the descriptive portion of the poem (VI—XV) he takes us away from the main theme of the poem and uses the 'vaidarbhirīti', whose chief qualities, perspicuity, grace, and elevation are best noticeable in his description of the seasons, the rising of the moon, and the Dawn.

Again in the description of the battle scenes he employs long compounds, hyperbolic expressions, and words which lack sweetness, all these being the qualities of 'gaudi rīti'.

In the closing canto of his poem he has 'mādhurya' (sweetness), 'kānti' (grace) and 'prasāda' (vivacity), which agree with the sublime and tranquillizing influence of the Buddha who is introduced there.

Taking the poem as a whole if we could ignore the 'citra-kāvya', which according to Mammaṭa does not constitute poetry of the highest order, Śivasvāmin's achievement as a Mahākavi does in no way fall short of the ideals of a true Sanskrit poet.

Śivasvāmin has used thirty eight metres in his poem, but he surpasses Bhāravi and Māgha in employing thirty-four metres where they could only use sixteen and twenty-two in the corresponding cantos of their poems.

Metres ⁽¹⁾ used by Śivasvāmin.

1. Anuṣṭubh.	— 160
2. Upendravajrā	— 9
3. Indravajrā	— 6
4. Upajāti	— 46

(1) See on Metre the following books:—

1. H. T. Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, Vol II, p. 62 ff.
2. A. Borooah, Sanskrit Prosody (especially for the use of metre in Sanskrit Epic Poems).

5. Svāgatā	—	46
6. Śālinī	—	40
7. Rathoddhatā	—	1
8. Vamśasātha	—	55
9. Indravamśā.	—	1
10. Drutavilambita	—	61
11. Pramitākṣara	—	2
12. Candalākṣikā	—	1
13. Sragvinī	—	1
14. Toṭaka	—	1
15. Praharṣinī	—	43
16. Mattamayūri	—	41
17. Rucirā	—	40
18. Mañjubhāṣinī	—	1
19. Vasantatilakam	—	65
20. Kurarīrutā	—	1
21. Pathyā	—	2
22. Mālinī	—	49
23. Śaśikalā	—	1
24. Tūpaka	—	1
25. Vāṇinī	—	1
26. Nardatakam	—	37
27. Hārinī	—	40
28. Mandākrāntā	—	34
29. Śikharinī	—	1
30. Vamśapatrapatita	—	1
31. Sārdū'avikrīḍita	—	8
32. Sragdharā	—	11
33. Aśvalalita	—	1
34. Viyoginī	—	50
35. Puṣpitāgrā	—	39
36. Mālabhārinī	—	41
37. Śikhā	—	2
38. Āryā	—	42
39. Doubtful	—	11
Total	—	933

Pratikas (1) of quotations from the Kapphinābhyudaya and of Stanzas Attributed to Śīvasvamin.

1. अत्यायतेर्नियमकारिभिरुद्धतानाम्
Kapphinābhy. I, 24; Kāvya IV, 38. S. R. B. p. 110.
2. आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनाम्
Kkbh. V, 1.
3. अद्यत्वावधि शिखिद शिखिद
KKbh. IV, 1.
4. आबिभ्रती बभ्रु बभौ नतभ्रः
Kapphinābhy. XII, 29; Tīkā. II, 381.
5. उत्खातप्रखरां सुखासुखसखी
KKbh. IV, 1.
6. उल्लापयन्त्या दयितस्य दूतीम्
Kapphinābhy. XII, 27; Sbhv. 1416.
7. उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
Kapphinābhy. I, 24; Kāvya. X, 39. S. R. B. p. 139.
8. किमुपरिगता भर्त्रा तप्तदिलोहवदकेता
Kapphinābhy. XIV, 29; Sbhv. 2099.
9. गतोऽस्तं घर्मीशुः
Sbhv. 1140.
10. गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव क्वचित्
Kapphinābhy. VII, 30; Sbhv. 1756.
11. चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्देशदिशो
Sbhv. 810.
12. जवनिकावनिकान्तकृता तदा
Kapphinābhy. VII, 26. Pada, ii, 6, 3, 32.
तेजोराशौ भुवनजलधेः
Skm. ii, 713.
14. दृशा सपदि मीलितम्
Sbhv. 2097.
15. दर्शकाश्मकभूपालो
Tīkā I, 19 where its source is given as the Kapphinābhy.
(Not yet identified).

16. दर्पविवगन्धगजकुम्भकवाटकूट
Kapphiṇābhy. I, 37. Kāvya IV, 39. S. R. B. p. 129.
17. नवननेरुफलावलिरावभौ
Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 53; Ṭikā II, 257.
18. नवकदम्बकदम्बकसन्तत
Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 36. Ṭikā, IV, 29.
19. निर्माष्टृषसौ नीतिमयेन हेतिना
Kapphiṇābhy. II, 38. Ṭikā IV, 98.
20. नेषा वेगं मुदुतनुः
Sbhv. 2107.
21. पित्रापि त्रायते या न खलु
Kkbh. IV, 1.
22. प्रसभमिवाङ्गदिवह्ललामहेला
Kapphiṇābhy. X, 11; Pada ii, 6, 1, 2; footnote in Vyākhyāsudhā, under 'mahelā'.
23. प्रेर्यन्तेऽर्मी परमरयो हर्ष्यवातायनानाम्
Kapphiṇābhy. XV, 13; Ṭikā, II, 39; Pada ii, 2, 17.
Footnote in Vyākhyāsudhā under 'arari'.
24. फलमलघु किं लीलावत्स्याः
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 37. Skm. ii, 628.
25. भद्रात्मनो दुरधिरोहतनुर्विशाल
Kapphiṇā I, 38. Kāvya II, 29. S. R. B. p. 109.
26. भोक्तुं भङ्गत्वा न मुक्ते
Sbhv. 1826.
27. मानिनः कुलवधूरिव रगात्
Kapphiṇābhy. XVII, 26. Ṭikā I, 39; Subhūti.
28. मायातरश्च्युतिमायातः
Kapphiṇābhy. XVIII, 58; Ṭikā I, 51.
29. मुक्ताभानि पयांसि
Sbhv. 710.

(1) See also Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya pp. 111—113 for further details regarding other anthologies,

30. यत्रालसप्रक्रमसारसाला
Kapphiṇābhy. VI, 6; Tīkā IV, 176; where it is read prabhārāsa.
31. रवावद्धा
Kapphiṇābhy. XIX, 14; Tīkā IV, 163; Pada, iii, 4, 12; footnote to Vyākhasudhā under addhā.
32. रुचं विरोति परिकुप्यति
Sbhv. 438.
33. वदननिहिते ताम्बूलान्शे
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 14; Sbhv. 2098.
34. व्यसनमचलं यत्राचार्यो
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 15; Sbhv. 15.
35. वदनशशिनः स्पर्शे
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 33; Sbhv. 2101.
36. समजानि न तत्प्रेम
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 7; Sbhv. 2062.
37. स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो
Subhāṣita Harāvālī*. The authorship is disputed. See the Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya.
38. सेवावाशिशिवावसे
Kapphiṇābhy. XVIII, 38; Tīkā I, 132; Manōramā of Rāmānathrai p. 176.

Among the above quotations those in Kāvya Prakāśh viz.

- (1) अत्यायते नियमकारिभेरुद्रतान (7) स्लास्यकालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
(16) दपान्धगन्धगजकुम्भकवाटकूट (25) भिद्रात्मना दुरधिरोहितनुर्विशाल

have been first traced by me. In सदुक्तिकर्णामृत ii, 628, is found in Kapphiṇābhyndaya XIV, 37.

Buddhist Names And Terms Occurring in The Text.

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1. Avadāna I. 2. | A legend of glorious achievement, |
| 2. Anātmavattā XX, 17. | The theory that 'ātman' does not exist separately. |

3. **Aryasatyam** VI, 65; XX, 27. The four truths.
4. **Asrava** VI,69. 'Subtle defiling matter'.
5. **Arhatva** VI,65, The State of being an Arhat.
6. **Buddha** VI,46; XVIII,80; XX,27. The Enlightened.
7. **Bodhi** I,1; VI,69; Wisdom, perfect knowledge.
8. **Bhartr**, XX. 20; The Buddha.
9. **Bhūmi** XX,16; The ten stages of attaining 'nirvāṇa'.
10. **Bhikṣubhāva** XX, 23. The state of being a Buddhist Monk.
11. **Caitya** XVI, 10; A Buddhist Sanctuary.
12. **Daśabala** I,1; The ten powers possessed by the Buddha. (See *Acta Orientalia* Vol. IX, p. 260.
13. **Dharma** XVI, 2; XX, 15,27 Doctrine.
14. **Dṛṣṭi** XX,18. Intuition.
15. **Duḥkha** XX, 14, 15. Suffering.
16. **Dhyāna** VI,65. Concentrated Contemplation.
17. **Dhātu** VI,65. Elements.
18. **Hetumālā** XX, 15. The Chain of causal Laws also known 'pratityasamutpāda'
19. **Jina** VI,23; XVIII,76. The Buddha.
20. **Māra** XVI, 7. Temptation.
21. **Mukti** XX, 18. Salvation.
22. **Maitrī** XX, 29. Friendliness, one of the Pāramitās, 'Perfections'.
23. **Mokṣa** XVI, 4, 10. Emancipation.
24. **Nirvāṇa** XVIII, 76; XX, 13. Extinction of all suffering.

25. Nirodha XX, 15. Extinction; one of the four noble truths.
26. Prātibhārī, XVIII, 79; One who performs miracles.
27. Prātibhārya XVIII, 80; A miracle.
XX, 3.
28. Prāṭisāṃbhārya XVIII, 77. One who performs miracles.
29. Ratnatraya XX, 26. The three jewels—The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha.
30. Rāga XX, 18. Attachment.
31. Saṃskāra XX, 25. One of the five 'skandhas'.
32. Svāmī XX, 23½. The Buddha.
33. Śāstrī XX, 19; XX, 33. The Buddha
34. Sugata XVI, 10; XX, 3. The Buddha.
35. Saṃgha VI, 46; XX, 27. The Order.
36. Sparṣa XX, 14. Sensation.
37. Saṃvid VI, 65. Knowledge.
38. Śaḍabhiñña VI, 65. The one possessed of six psychic powers.
39. Upādāna XX, 14. Substratum.
40. Vedanā XX, 14. One of the Skandhas.
41. Vihāra XVI, 10. A Monastery.

Note.—Śivasvāmin has not used any special terms which could distinctly relate him to any school of Buddhism in Kasmīra, but has shown his knowledge of the Bauddha philosophy. For full discussion on these terms see—

- i. The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna by Stecherbatsky 1927.
- ii. The Bodhisattva doctrine by Haradaya, 1932.
- iii. Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Suzuki, 1907.

Important Paurānic Epic, Tāntric, and other allusions in the poem.

1. Astronomical terms, VIII, 55; XII, 14; XIV, 2.
2. Agastya drinking the ocean, XVIII, 50.
3. Balarāma and Yamunā, I, 27.

4. The Churning of the ocean, IV, 19.
5. Dramaturgy, III, 5; IV, 42; VI, 10, 15, 20, 21, 29, 71; XIII, 1, 46; XVIII, 22.
6. Hiranyagarbha, XI, 2, 34.
7. Indra, VI, 57; XII, 6; XVI, 71; his elephant, XII, 5; XV, 15; his capital, XVI, 5.
8. Janmejaya's serpent sacrifice, III, 18.
9. Kālī or Durgā, I, 10, 37; III, 9; IV, 4; XVI, 7; XVII, 5; XVIII, 10.
10. Kālarātri II, 6; IV, 1; XI, 37.
11. Kāma, I, 21.
12. Kṛṣṇa, III, 4; VI, 18; XI, 33; his mission of peace to the Kauravas, III, 4.
13. Kṛtyā, III, 24, 28; XV, 33.
14. Khāṇḍavadāha, XVII, 12.
15. Lakṣmī, I, 18; X, 19.
16. Musical terms, II, 16.
17. Nala and Damayantī, XVIII, 4.
18. Nāgānanda, VI, 61.
19. Paraśurāma and the Kṣatriyas, IV, 38.
20. Pāṇini, XVIII, 23.
21. Rāhu, I, 13, 27.
22. Śiva, III, 13; his dance, V, 43; XI, 2; his laughter, I, 11, 23; his burning of Kāma, II, 13; VI, 73; his burning of Tripura, XVII, 46.
23. The Sun depositing its lustre in the fire at sunset, XV, 25; XVI, 19.
24. Tantric rites, I, 25, 29; V, 44; XV, 33.
25. Tripunḍraka, I, 30.
26. Viṣṇu, 39; XI, 8; as Vāmana, XI, 9; as the Boar in carnation, III, 37; XVII, 113.
27. Yama, III, 3,

SOME OF THE MAXIMS AND SAYINGS IN THE POEM.

1. प्रभुष्वियं सानृणतानुजीविनां भवन्ति यद्वस्तुषु तत्त्ववेदिनः २, २

‘This is the return of servants’ indebtedness to their masters that they ascertain the essence of things that concern them.’

2. भवन्ति ते भाजनमर्थसंपदां

विदन्ति ये भृत्यजनानुरञ्जनम् ॥ २, २०

‘They become the recipients of wealth and fortune who know how to please their servants.’

3. रहोहि तद्यत्र न सन्त्यसंस्तुताः २, २४

‘That is a place for privacy where there are no strangers.’

4. विपत्तयो ह्युत्तरपाण्डितं नरं

त्यजन्ति सिंहं हरिणाङ्गना इव ॥ २, ३४

‘Miseries leave alone a man who has foresight just as female deer keep away from the lion.’

5. असहनसहृद्वोत्साहसैकान्तकान्ता

व्रजति नहि नृपश्रीर्दार्ढ्यता दीर्घसूत्रे ॥ ४, २३

‘Glory of a king fostered in the company of intolerance and cherished solely by courage does not last long when he procrastinates.’

6. द्रष्टुमयमयोहि प्राज्यतेजोऽभिषङ्गत्

विघटितकर्ठनत्वं याति कर्मण्यभावम् ॥ ४, २८

‘A piece of iron when its hardness has been overcome by the appliance of intense heat becomes serviceable.’

7. किमपि बलमलंघ्यं पश्य तेजस्वितायाः ॥ ४, ३३

‘Behold what an unsurpassable power glory has.’

8. उपधिप्रयशुद्धितो ऽस्य किं

कनकस्यैव परं परीक्षणम् ९, १६

‘What further testing of gold is required when it has been thrice purified.’

9. न हि ज्ञातु भवन्ति मङ्गगुरा
मतिभूयस्त्वविवेकिताश्रियः ॥ ९,१९

‘The glory of prudence and wisdom never perishes.’

10. न हि नैति विपत्तिवन्धुतां
निपुणामास्य परिष्कृतो नृपः । ९,२०

‘A king who is surrounded by clever Ministers never courts disaster.’

11. स सखा सुखदुःखयोः समः । ९,२१

‘He is the friend who remains the same in grief and happiness.’

12. विजयस्य परं पदं नयः । ९,२४

‘Policy is an excellent means of victory.’

13. वहनाय मनो महीयसां
युगपत् क्रोधतितिक्षियोः क्षमम् । ९,३७

‘Only the mind of the great is able to contain simultaneously both anger and forbearance.’

14. इयमुज्ज्वलतानुजीविनः
समये संस्मृतिमेति यत्प्रभोः । ९,४८

‘It is the glory of the servant to be remembered by his master at the proper time.’

15. प्रेम्णां फलं खलु परस्पररम्यगोष्ठी । ९,५०

‘The fruit of affection, indeed, is mutual delightful talk.’

16. तत्सौन्दर्यं साधुगुणाकृष्टमतीनां
तृप्यत्युन्मयेन रुचिः शंसिजनानाम् ७,१८

‘That is beauty which can satisfy the taste of worthy people whose minds are attracted by good qualities’.

17. सारः सतां सततमेष सुजन्मलाभो
यत्सत्क्रियां प्रकटयन्ति गृहागतानाम् ७,२८

'The real object and the benefit of the birth of good people is that they always show hospitality to those who come to their houses'.

18. गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव

कचित् । ८, ३०

'Even the meritorious become ignoble in certain cases'.

19. क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्मभिः

ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ८, ९२

'Alas, where can foul-minded people have constant affection for a long time'.

20. सतां मनस्तु परसुखोपकारकृत्, ९, १२

'The mind of the great always looks to the happiness and welfare of others'.

21. स्पृशन्ति के कृशविभवं कमर्थिनः ९, ३६

'What supplicants approach a person whose glory is gone'.

22. भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क वृत्तिः १०, १४

'Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose'.

23. किमिव हि दुष्करमस्ति रागवृत्तेः । १०, १८

'What is there which is beyond the achievement of the passionate'.

24. द्विषदपि कुत्रचिदावेहत् फलाम्भ्यम् । १०, २१

'Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results'.

25. तनुरपि विषमं तनोति तपं

समुपचितप्रणयस्य खण्डनांशः । १०, २२

'Even the slightest breach of a long-standing affection causes accute affliction'.

26. जनयति हि किमप्यनल्पभोजः

दृढतरभावकृतः प्रियप्रसादः, १०, २४

'A present from one's lover offered with great affection produces intense enthusiasm'.

27. फलमभिवाञ्छितनुपदभावि हि भव्यधियाम् ॥ ११,१
 'The good-intentioned have their aspiration closely followed by its achievement'.
28. बत दुरतिक्रमा कृतधियामपि कालगतिः ॥ ११,२
 'Oh, even for those who have mastered themselves it is difficult to transgress the course of time'.
29. न हि महतां क्षयेऽपि गुरुगारेवमेति हतिम् ॥ ११ १८
 'The grandeur of merits does not decrease even when the great people suffer decline'.
30. समागमः कस्य सतां न भूत्यै ॥ १२ ४
 'To whom does the company of the noble not bring prosperity'.
31. कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति,
 प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्यः ॥ १२ १८
 'The noble return their obligations even at the expense of their lives'.
32. सहान्तराया न हि रागवृत्तिः ॥ १२ ३७
 'Affection does not tolerate any impediment'.
33. तदेव हि प्रेम से एव रागो
 न स्थायितां यत्र विभर्ति कोपः ॥ १२,४१
 'That is true love, that is real affection, where anger does not last long'.
34. दधते के न गुणेषु पक्षपातम् ॥ १२,३०
 'Who do not side with virtue'.
35. फालति सुधियां पात्रन्यस्तः सहस्रः गुणं विधिः ॥ १४ २१
 'Instruction imparted by the wise to a deserving person produces thousandfold results'.
36. अन्तःशून्यादपि हि सुमुखे वेधसि स्यात् फलश्रीः ॥ १५ ५९

'When fortune is favourable one may get good results even from one who is hollow (meritless) within'.

37. दारिताद्रि स्तृणस्तन्वे दन्तं न्यस्पति न द्विपः॥ १६,२१

'An elephant who has uprooted mountains will not lower his tusk for a blade of grass'.

38. न बलीयोऽभिभूतस्य त्राणायाम्भुवोऽप्यलम् ॥ १६,३६

'One vanquished by the stronger cannot be saved even by his own kinsmen'.

39. अहो विवृतसाङ्कर्या दुर्मया रिचत्तवृत्तयः ॥ १६,४१

'Oh, the tendencies of one's mind, the complications of which are concealed, cannot be fathomed'.

40. अपि यत्नप्रमृष्टस्य मलमन्तरमनुष्मत्तः ।

ताम्रस्यैव खलोक्तस्य श्यामिका लक्षते पुरा । १६,४२

'The vile speech of a wicked person shows its foulness without yielding its inherent impurity though polished with effort, just as copper even though brushed shows black stains'.

41. ईर्ष्यामलं खलेष्वास्ते विषमाशीविषेष्विव ॥ १६,४४

'The wicked have foulness of envy just as serpents have venom'.

42. विडम्बनैव पुंसि श्रीः परप्रणतिपांसुले

कान्तिं कामपि कुर्वति कूणेः कटककल्पना । १६,५०

'The glory of a person who is soiled with 'dust by paying homage to others is a mockery. Bracelets do not adorn a person who is armless'.

43. किमोजः सत्यभाषित्वं कः स्वर्थो धर्मसंग्रहः

किं शठ्य हतञ्जत्वं का श्रीर्दीनोन्नतिर्नृणाम् ॥ १६,५१

'What is magnanimity but telling the truth;
What is selfishness but amassing virtue;
What is wickedness but ingratitude;
And what is (true) renown but the uplift of the poor'.

44. पलायमानं पुरुषं रत्नपङ्कजते पथि ।

अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्यति ॥ १८, ३७

‘How can the goddess of glory follow a person who is running away (from the battlefield) as she walks with soft steps on the road covered with the mire of blood’.

45. स जीवति रुषा यस्य द्विषन्दग्धो न जीवति ।

पलायते यस्तस्मिन् लक्ष्मीस्तस्मात् पलायते ॥ १८, ३२

‘He alone lives whose enemy cannot survive when burnt with his anger and he who runs away in dread of him (the enemy) is forsaken by the Goddess of Glory’.

46. आयातोऽहं प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः ॥ २०, २४

‘Even Success comes as the proper time for it arrives’.

An alphabetical list of proper names¹ mentioned in the poem.

1. Aja, XVI, 80.
2. Aṇu, XVI, 85; XVIII, 5.
3. Ambariṣa, III, 22; IV, 43.
4. Āśmaka, V, 33; XVI, 67.
5. Akṛti, V, 4.
6. Āndhra, III, 17; IV, 22.
7. Babhru, III, 32; IV, 43; XVIII, 19.
8. Bala, III, 8; IV, 22; V, 2, 35; XVI, 76.
9. Bhaṭṭācārya, XX, 36; Father of Śivasvāmin.
10. Bhīma, III, 19; V, 12; XVIII, 25.
11. Bhīṣma, III, 15.

1. Most of the names of the Kings occurring in this poem can be traced in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas.

See (i) Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter.

(ii) Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata by Sörenson.

12. Bhīṣmaka, III, 14; V, 8; XVIII, 21.
 13. Bhūridhāman, III, 10; V, 8; XVIII, 21.
 14. Candramitra XX, 35, The Buddhist preceptor of Śivāsavāmin.
 15. Danta-cakra-or-vaktra, III, 37.
 16. Darśaka, III, 3; V, 46; XVI, 1, 40, 54, 64; XVII, 1.
 17. Dākṣiṇātya, XVIII, 43; XX, 19. Kapphīṇa.
 18. Druma, V, 35.
 19. Dṛḍhadhanuṣ, III, 21; IV, 21. Cf. dṛḍharatha, daśaratha.
 20. Duḥṣeṇa, III, 42, cf. Pṛthuṣeṇa.
 21. Dhuhdhu, XVI, 83.
 22. Gada, III, 33; IV, 22; V, 7.
 23. Indu, III, 25; IV, 22; XVI, 74.
 24. Jiṣṇu, III, 7, 30; IV, 43.
 25. Kapphīṇa, I, 23; II, 18; XVI, 60; XVII, 1, 13; XVIII, 80.
 26. Karandhama, III, 36; V, 9; XVIII, 23.
 27. Kadambaka, XVI, 79.
 28. Kandu, XVII, 7.
 29. Kirmīra, III, 16; IV, 22.
 30. Kukura, XVI, 68; XVIII, 10.
 31. Kaṅka, IV, 22.
 32. Kauravya, III, 40.
 33. Kośala, XVIII, 39.
 34. Kośaleśvara, XVIII, 39.
Kauśala, II, 31.
Kosalādhipa, XVIII, 71.
- } Prasenajit.
35. Kṛpa, IV, 22.
 36. Mada, XVII, 9.

37. Madraka, V, 35; XVI, 75; XVIII, 19.
38. Manu, XVI, 81.
39. Mucukunda, XVI, 70.
40. Nala, III, 26; IV, 202; V, 10.
41. Narmadā, I, 22.
42. Niṣāda, V, 34; XVI, 69.
43. Pavana or Yavana, IV, 22, 43; V, 5.
44. Pāṇḍya, III, 11; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 16.
45. Pāṇḍu, XVIII, 16.
46. Prasāda, XVI, 72.
47. Pradyota, III, 31; IV, 43.
48. Protha, III, 34; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 7.
49. Prasenajit, II, 32; V, 31; XVI, 1, 14, 40; XVIII, 35, 79.
50. Pṛthudhvaja, III, 29.
51. Raghu, XVI, 66; XVIII, 6.
52. Rukmin, III, 38; V, 11.
53. Ruru, XVI, 84; XVIII, 6.
54. Revā, I, 42.
55. Sahadeva, XVI, 71.
56. Samudra, III, 20.
57. Subandhu, III, 6.
58. Subāhu, III, 2; IV, 6, 41.
59. Suketu, III, 13.
60. Sura, XVI, 77.
61. Surandhra, V, 35; XVI, 73; XVIII, 4.
62. Surāṣṭr, III, 12; IV, 22.
63. Suśarman, III, 9; IV, 20; V, 3.
64. Sauvira, V, 35.
65. Sauvīramalla, XVI, 78.
66. Sauvalka, III, 39.
67. Satadhanuṣ, IV, 43.

68. Śatadhvaja, III, 24; V, 6.
 69. Śrāvastī, II, 32, 52.
 70. Śruta, V, 35; XVI, 82.
 71. Śiva, XVI, 76.
 72. Śivasvāmin, XX, 38.
 73. Śri Śivasvāmin, XX, 36.
 74. Śālva, III, 28.
 75. Śabara, XVI, 47. Kapphiṇa.
 76. Utkala, III, 18.
 77. Ugrasena, III, 25.
 78. Vindhya, I, 2.
 79. Vyādha, XVIII, 42, Kapphiṇa.
 80. Vasudeva, V, 35.
 81. Yugandhara, XVIII, 18.

The Śabdālaṅkāras¹ used in the Kapphiṇābhyudayaḍaṁ.

1. Yamakas.

(i) *Vyapeta and avyapeta.*

VI.	2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 38, 38, 42, 44, 50, 58, 64, 74, 78, 84.	=20
VIII.	1—59.	—59
XVIII.	1, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21 24, 29, 65, 72, 75, 77.	—14

(ii) Samudga.	VI.	16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40, 46, 48, 52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 66, 68—73.	—25
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1. See Kāvyaḍarṣa, Chapter III.

	VIII. 60	-1
	XVIII. 60, 74.	-2
(iii) Sandaṣṭa.	XVIII. 70.	-1
(iv) Mahāyamaka.	XVIII. 64.	-1
(v) Pratipādapratiloma,	XI. 80.	-1
	XVIII, 26,	-1
2. Sarvatobhadra	XVIII, 34.	-1
3. Ekākṣara	XVIII, 56.	-1
4. Dvyakṣara	XVIII 6, 12, 17, 22, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 48, 49, 52, 55.	-13
5. Tryakṣara	XVIII, 51.	-1
6. Caturakṣara	XVIII, 3.	-1
7. Niroṣṭhya	XVIII, 8.	-1
8. Atālavya	XVIII, 20.	-1
9. Gomtūrikābandha	XVIII, 25.	-1
10. Murajabandha	XVIII, 27.	-1
11. Kāñcībandha	XVIII, 63.	-1
12. Padmabandha	XVIII, 31.	-1
13. Kriyāguṇṭiḥ	XVIII, 33.	-1

Total 149

CONCLUSION.

The reconstructed Text is based mainly on the readings of M_2 but where P_2 , p_2 , and P_3 have furnished better readings a full consideration is given to them. Very few occasions have arisen where emendations were felt a necessity, but every attempt has been made as far as possible to avoid them.

Having gathered together all this information about this Mahākāvya and pursued all this study into the salient points regarding its language, thought, theme, and style, it seems strange that such a poem should have remained comparatively obscure. Although it had the distinction of being quoted and referred to in anthologies and other works it has not, so far, been commented upon. The plausible reason for this seems to be that the Brahmanic Literary Society ignored its importance under the mistaken belief that it celebrated the triumph of a non-Brahmanic faith. It has already been shown that what appears to be a triumph on the surface is in reality an attempt to reflect the growing tendency of the time to absorb Buddhism in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism.

In conclusion, I welcome this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor F. W. Thomas, who initiated me during my studies at Oxford into this field of Research in Kāvya Literature. But for his kind and generous help it would have been impossible to bring to light this literary production of Sivasvāmin, which has remained in the dark for the last millenium. I should also like to express my obligations to the Librarian, India Office Library, who kindly undertook to supply me with transcripts of the poem from the Libraries at Puri and in Kashmir. To Sir Aurel Stein I am grateful for his permission to use one of the Mss. in his Kashmir Collection deposited in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

August 1933.

GAURI SHANKAR.

A MARATHI IDIOM.

Sten Konow.

When I was preparing the Marathi Volume of the Linguistic Survey of India I became interested in an idiom which I thought had an exact parallel in my own language, while it did not seem to me to be in accord with the general structure of Marathi: a person or thing which is going to be spoken of is first, so to say, introduced through a noun in the nominative case, and then incorporated into the context by means of a pronoun.

The idiom has been mentioned *e.g.* in Rev. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar's *The Student's Marathi Grammar* (3rd edition, Bombay 1894, paras. 566 ff.):

"The demonstratives *hā* and *asā* are often used **appositionally**, and serve the following uses:—

1. *hā* is often used in apposition to the subject, when the nominal predicate defines or explains the latter: **Rāmā hā Gopālrawātsā mulgā hotā**, Rāmā was the son of Gopālrao; **Mumbai hē śāhar āhe**, Bombay is a city.

3. The appositional *hā* is inflected instead of the nouns for which it stands: **hatti ghoḍe āpi bail hyēs tsārā ghālā**, give grass to the elephants, horses and oxen; **Rāmā Hari āpi Gopāl hyā-pekṣā Sakhī huṣār āhe**, Sakhī is cleverer than Rāmā, Hari, and Gopāl".

Every Marathi book contains examples of this idiom. The following are taken from the *Śukasaptati* (ed. Schmidt, Leipzig 1897):—

1. **Dewśarmā brāhman yācī awasthā kaśī ghaḍī**, the brāhman Dewśarmā, his state how became (p. 1);

2. **Tyātsā mītr Trivikram yāṇē Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi yā-nāmē suk ṛa Mālati nāmē mainā yā-pramāṇē don pakṣi Madnās āṇṇ dīle**, his friend Trivikram,—by him, Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi,—by this name a parrot, and a mainā by name Mālati,—so much,

two birds were brought and given to Madan i.e. his friend Trivikram gave Madan two birds, viz. the parrot Vidagdhabacūḍāmaṇi and the mainā Mālatī (p. 1): 3. Guṇḍāndr nāmē rājā yāce putrā saḥawartmān ramāvē yā-staw nānā prakārē śṛṅgār karūn tsālilī, she used to put on various decoration for this purpose: it should be sported together with the son of him, viz. the rājā Guṇḍāndr (p. 4); 4. tō dwārpāl yās dhūrt-Vimal yāṇē sāṃgitlē hotē, then it had been said by him, viz. the false Vimal, to them, viz. the door-keepers (p. 13); 5. Bhīmā nāmē rājā hotā tyātsā putr Mohan to Haridatt nāmē sāwkār yācī strī Lakṣmī tīj barobor sambhog karāvyās icchit hotā, there was a rājā named Bhīmā, his son Mohan,—he was wishing to enjoy himself with her, viz. Lakṣmī, the wife of him, viz. the banker named Haridatt.

Such sentences do not only belong to the literary language, but are, as may be seen from Mr. Navalkar's remarks, used in daily speech.

In the Marathi volume of the Linguistic Survey we read on p. 255: Pātḡowārītsā Cīndhu Lodhī yācyā kaḍe tū tsākri hotās kā, Cīndhu Lodhī of Pātḡowārī,—were you in his service? Here it is quite clear that the purpose is to draw attention to Cīndhu Lodhī, to introduce him as the chief person concerned with the matter in question, and such is evidently the case in most instances.

It will be seen that the proleptic noun is usually without any syntactical connexion with the ensuing sentence. In the opening of the fifth Śukasāptati example, however, we find a whole sentence used instead of a proleptic noun, the predicate hotā being, it is true, originally a participle, and often the resuming word is not an ordinary pronoun, but an adverb. Thus in the Linguistic Survey, p. 256: to nidzlā hotā tewhē tyācyā āṅgā warats hote, he sleeping was,—then, were they on his body? and, similarly in the Śukasāptati, p. 1: pūrvī Candrakalā nagricē thāyī Vikramsen rājā rājya karit astē tethē koplek Haridatt nāmē

sāwkār rāhat hotā, formerly when King Vikramsen was reigning in Candrakala town,—there a banker named Haridatt was staying.

The same idiom is also known in Hindi. Thus S. H. Kellogg in his Grammar of the Hindi language (2nd edition, London 1893, para 675 c.) says that the nominative case “sometimes stands independently by anakolouthon; as **Mahārāj we baiṭhe haī**, the great king,—he is seated; **śāstravidyā au śastravidyā ye doṭi ūnc padvī dainewārī haī**, sacred science and military science, — these two confer high rank”.

Professor Turner has been good enough to give me the following, similar, sentences from Nepali: **Rāma bhane āyo**, Rāma, —he came; **Bujhasatva bhane le mahākaṣṭa pāyo**, as for Bujhasatva,—he fell into misfortune; **timi bhane caṛdo umer-ki rabi chen**, **swāmi bhane buṛā rahi chan**, as for you,—you are in the presence of life; your husband,—he is old.

Similar turns of expression will probably also be found in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and they are also to be met with, outside India, *e. g.* in Germanic languages. The following are taken from Falk og Torp, *Dansk-norskens syntax* [Kristiania 1900, p. 276]: **Eiríkr hinn sigrsæli konungr i Svíþjóð**, **hann hafði fengið**, Eirik the Victorious, king of Sweden,—he had got; **inn gamli hrímmúrs**, **hann kollum ver Ymi**, the old ogre,—him we call Ymer; **men Thor han haver sin hammer mist**, but Thor,—he has lost his hammer; **ja, ein derber and troçkener Spass**, **nichts geht uns darueber**, yes, a saucy and dry fun,—nothing surpasses that.

It is not necessary to look out for further non-Indian parallels. The idiom is evidently spread over a wide area, and we have every reason for thinking that it is fairly old.

In India it can be traced back to an early period. In his paper on the Manikiala inscription (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1909, p. 650). Professor Lueders mentions “those parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,” and gives as an example *Jātaka* I, 278: **bodhisatto nāgabalo**

thāmasampanno nadiyā orlmatirato uppatitvā dipakassa erate nadimajjhe eko piṭṭhipasāṇo atthi tasmim nipatati, the Bodhiastva, having the vigour of an elephant and full of strength, having jumped from this side of the river,—on this side of the island, in the midst of the river, is a projecting rock,—on that he jumps down.

Another example of the same kind (l. c. IV, p. 290) may follow: **tadā te ubho samvāsam kappetvā tasmim yeva sare ekasmim dipake kalambarukkho atthi samantā udakena pārīkhitto tasmim kulāvakaṃ katvā paṭivasimsu**, then those two, having set up a joint household, in that very lake, on an island, is a kalamba-tree,—there they built their nest and lived.

In both these instances we seem to be justified in speaking of parenthetical sentences. What we have before us is, first a nominative, accompanied by a gerund, and introducing us to the real subject; then a complete sentence indicating a locality, and, finally, a clause, giving the relationship between both.

The contents of the “parenthetical” sentence can, however, also be given as an independent nominative. I take the following examples from the *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III; so **sattamadivasam alasakena kālam karissati, kālakato ca Kalakañjā nāma asurā sabbanihīno asurakāyo tatra uppajjissati** (p. 1), in seven days he will die, and having died—the Asuras called Kalakañja, the lowest Asura host,—there he will be born. **puratthimena Vesāliyaṃ Udenaṃ nāma cetiyaṃ taṃ nātikkameyyaṃ** (p. 7), to the east of Vaiśālī the caitya called Udayana,—that I may not go beyond.

We may call such sentences parenthetical, but we might also speak of proleptic nominatives, and at all events there is a striking similarity with the Marathi idiom, even more, perhaps, than seems to be the case at first sight.

From Pāli I turn to the north-western Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In the Patika copper-plate we read after the date: **etaye pūrvaye kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa Liako Kusuluko nama tasa putro Patiko Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Kṣema nama atra** [*de]śe **Patiko apratiṭhavita bhagavita śakamunisa śariraṃ** [*pra]tithaveti, on this day,¹ of the kṣaharāta and kṣatrapa of Cukhsa, —Liaka Kusulaka by name, his son' Patika, — in the town of Takhaśilā, the north-eastern region, Kṣema by name —there Patika establishes a non-established relic of Bhagavat śākyamuni. Here we can be in doubt about the words **kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa**. They may be connected with the preceding **etaye pūrvaye**, or else the sentence starts with the case required by the context, but then runs on through unconnected, proleptic, nominatives.

The inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital begins: **mahakṣa- [tra]vasa Rajulasa agramahēṣ(r)i Ayasia Kumuia dhitr)a Kharaostasa yuvaraṇa mat(r)a Nadadiakasa [taye] . . . śarira prat(r)iṭhavitr)o**, the mahākṣatrapa Rājula's queen, Ayasia Kumuia, daughter of the crown-prince Kharaosta, mother of Nādādiaka, by her a relic was established.

In the Wardak inscription we have, after the date: **imeṇa ga- d(r)ig(r)eṇa Kamagulyaputra Vagramareg(r)a s(r)a isī Khav- adam(r)i kadalayig(r)a Vagramarig(r)a viharam(r)i thu [ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada śākyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti**, at that instant the Kamagulya-scion Vagramarega,-- he being settled here in Khawat, in the Vagrmaregavihāra, in a stūpa establishes Bhagavat śākyamuni's relic

1. I take **pūrvā** to mean **tithi**. Since there may be two **tithis** ending on the same civil day, in which case the first gives the number of the day, and since **pūrvā** especially means "the first of two" (cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* III, para 203d), I think that **pūrvā** in such dates means "deciding tithi" and then **tithi** generally. If I am right, this detail is of importance for the question about the Indian calendar.

It will be seen that we have everywhere to do with proleptic nominatives, or with parenthetical sentences.

But we can go still further back. In *The Syntax of cases* in the narrative and descriptive prose of the *Brāhmaṇas*, Vol. I. (Heidelberg 1926), p. 1ff., Professor Oertel says; "In a normal Indo-European sentence a given case-form is chiefly related to some other element of the sentence; in fact, the expression of such relation of one member of a clause to another is the main function,—and from the point of view of strict syntax the only function—, of the Indo-European declensional endings" "But there are instances in which the close knitting of a clause is loosened and a certain disintegration, the degree of which may vary, sets in. When such a loosening of the syntactical joints, in whatever degree, has taken place we may speak of the **disjunct use of case-forms.**"

"A noun may retain the case-form which is required by the syntactical setting but be lifted out of its proper place and placed usually at the head of the clause, and be then resumed in its proper place by a demonstrative pronoun."

"Instead of the resumption of the proleptic case by a demonstrative pronoun the incipient disintegration may be outwardly marked by the intrusion of a particle separating the proleptic case from the main verb This kind of prolepsis is confined to the nominative. It contains the germ of an absolute case. The verb is always accompanied by an infinite verb-form, either a participle or a gerund."

"A noun may be lifted out of the sentence, but instead of showing the proper case-form required by the syntactical setting it is put in the nominative case and later resumed by a demonstrative pronoun in the proper oblique case. The nominative which thus anticipates an oblique case is, from the syntactical point of view, wholly severed from the rest of the clause and hangs, so to speak, in the air."

It would be difficult to give a better commentary on the various sentences discussed above. I shall add some of Professor Oertel's examples of this progressive "disintegration":—

Samvatsaro vaiv-aitān so'ntarātiṣṭhat, the year indeed,—that stood between them; **devāḥ pitaro manuṣyās te'anyata āsan**, the gods, fathers, men, they were on one side; **tat puruṣo 'mānavaḥ sa enān brahma gamayati**, then a non-human man,—he makes them go to the Brahma; **'prāṇo 'pānas cakṣuḥ śrotram ity etāni vai puruṣam akaran**, out-breathing, in-breathing, sight, hearing,—these have made man; **prāṇam vyānam apānam tām eva yajamāne dadhāti**, out-breathing, through-breathing, in-breathing—these he places into the sacrificer; **yājñāya yajamānāya ātmane tebhya ev-āśiṣam āśāste**, for the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, for himself,—for them he makes a blessing; **paśavo vāg indriyaṃ prāṇāpānau tair vā Indro 'kāmayata sāyujyaṃ gaccheyam iti**, cattle, vigour, out-and in-breathing,—with them Indra wished: may I be united; **devā ha vai yajñam tanvānās te 'surarakṣebhya āsaṅgad bibhayāṃ cakruḥ**, the gods being engaged in performing the sacrifice,—they were afraid of the Asuras and Rakṣasas lest they should cling to them; **Kaṇvo vai Nārṣado jyog apratiṣṭhitaś caran so 'kāmayata**, Kaṇva Nārṣada, wandering for a long time without support—he desired; **Indro vai vṛtram hatvā sa imāṃl lokān abhyajayat**, Indra having slain vṛtra—he won these worlds;

ātithyena vai devā iṣṭvā tānt samad avindat, the gods having sacrificed with the great-offering, them discord befell;

sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nān-ev-opahvayate, verily he calling four times upon (her),—yet he calls upon (her) in different ways, as it were;

devāś cā va asurāś c-āditye vyāyacchantas taṃ devā abhyajayan, the gods and the Asuras contending about āditya,—him the gods won.

It will be seen that we have exactly the same turn of expression as in the modern idiom. I have arranged the sentences in accordance with Professor Oertel's view, and they apparently allow us to follow the development from the strictly syntactical sequence through prolepsis to something which we may call an absolute nominative.

"The psychological process", says Professor Oertel, "which gives rise to the Pendent Nominative appears to be as follows: The speaker begins to utter his statement before the syntactical mould into which his thought is to be cast is fully matured, i. e. before the syntactical integration of its parts has fully taken place. As he starts speaking, his attention is fixed upon a single item of the thought-complex irrespective of the relation which it will ultimately bear to the other elements of the clause. The remainder of the thought-complex takes its syntactical shape after the pendent nominative has been uttered and thus the proper syntactical relation of the nominative to the rest of the sentence must be afterwards indicated by a resumptive pronoun. The nominative is chosen as pendent case because it is the only case which not only expresses (as subject case) syntactical relation but also implies the absence of all syntactical relation (as in titles, headings lists). Conversely the attention of the hearer is more strongly directed to such an abnormal nominative, so that the emphatic attention of the speaker is communicated to the hearer."

The process described by Professor Oertel is psychologically quite intelligible, and, if his view is right, we should have to assume that it had taken place independently in several Indo-European languages. And in India it must have begun at a very early date. For a good example is *e. g.* found in the very first hymn of the *R̥gveda*, *v. 2. Agniḥ pūrvebhir ṛṣibhir idyo nūtanair uta, sa devā eha vakṣati*, Agni, worthy of praise by old ṛṣis and by new ones,—he will bring the gods hither.

I have already mentioned some European parallels. And in Iranian we have quite similar idioms.

In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius we read: **pasāva** I **martiya** maguš āha **Gaumāta** nāma hauv udapatatā hacā **Paiši-yāuvādāyā** **arakadriš** nāma **kaufa** hacā **avadaša** (I, II), then there was a Magus, Gaumāta by name,—he started from **Paiši-yāuvādā**, the hill called **Arakadri**,—from that; **avam** **Gaumātam** **tyam** **magum** **avājanam** **utā** **tyai-šaiy** **fratamā** **martiyā** **anuši-yā** **āhantā** **Sikayauvatiš** **nāmā** **didā** **Nisāya** **nāma** **dahyauš** **Mādaiy** **avadašim** **avājanam**, that Magus Gaumāta I slew and the foremost men who followed him,—the fastness called **Sikayauvati**, the province called **Nisāya**, in Media,—there I slew him; **pasāva** **adam** **kāram** **frāišayam** **Vidarna** **nāma** **Pārsa** **manā** **bandaka** **avamšām** **mauištam** **akunavam**—**yavā** **Mādam** **parārassa** **Maruš** **nāma** **vardanam** **Mādaiy** **avadā** **hamaranam** **akunauš** (II 6), afterwards I sent an army,—the Persian named **Vidarna**, my subject,—him I made their chief; when he came to Media,—the town called **Maru**, there he made battle.

Here it does not seem to be the case that the speaker was not, to begin with, conscious of the syntactical connexion. It is evident that the use of the pendent nominative is due to his desire to be precise, to draw attention to the person or locality mentioned in the pendent nominative. And this consideration, and the wide distribution of the idiom, lead me to the conclusion that here we have the explanation of the phenomenon. It is not due to a loosening of the syntactical joints, but takes us back to a pre-syntactical stage of the language, which has left its traces, as **samśkāras**, in various Indo-European languages.

Professor Oertel rightly remarks that the Indo-European nominative is not only the case form of the subject, but is also used when there is no syntactical relation, where the purpose is only to mention, to single out some person or thing to which attention is drawn. And this is probably the oldest function of the nominative, and we may be justified in raising the question whether the common **s-** suffix is not, in its origin, identical with the demonstrative pronoun **sa**, used to resume the word just as in our idiom. It might even, with some plausibility, be contended that the case in-

flexion generally has taken its origin from pronominal additions, and this view could be strengthened through parallels *e. g.* from Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages.

At all events, the non-syntactical use of the nominative dates back to the Indo-European period, and the wide-spread use of the pendent nominative in many Indo-European languages is an old inheritance, which has held its own in spite of the development of a connected syntax.

We are sometimes reminded of the well-known arrangement of some Gandhāra sculptures.

If we look at Fig. 254 in M. Foucher's standard work, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, we have, to the left, a monkey carrying an alms-bowl, in the centre the Buddha seated with the bowl in his hands, and, to the right, the monkey going away empty handed : *vānaraḥ kaścit pātram grhītvā—Buddho Bhagavān padmāsana āśīnas,—tasmai dattvā so 'pākrāmat*, would be an adequate description of the scene. The artist visualizes the various stages, one after the other, without melting them together into one picture.

The narrative style represented by our idiom proceeds in the same way. The speaker has the occurrence before his mind's eye, and visualizes detail after detail. We are reminded of the frequent, and no doubt very old, use of parataxis instead of hypotaxis, a state of things, which has never been quite discarded in Sanskrit, especially when some person's words are rendered.

We are fully justified in speaking of an ancient visualistic style, and it would not be difficult to point at its traces in several features of Sanskrit syntax. The clearest ones are perhaps found in the idiom dealt within the preceding pages.

MAN AND HIS BECOMING IN THE UPANIṢADS.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A.

I am here suggesting, that this is a needed study. It would surely be a good thing if of those who are competent, some man would undertake the detail. Without such guidance, we others, the incompetent, walk stumblingly; first because of the language, secondly because of the translators, and the commentators, of later dates, on whom they too largely depend. There is first the Vedic double verb to express existence, past, present, future: **as** and **bhū** (**bhav—**), paralleled by the German **sein** and **werden**, but for which we English, to our much loss, have not kept alive a second verb as strong as the first. Now it needs first-hand acquaintance with texts and with historic changes in their idiom to pronounce, with a flair born of long experience, whether in a given passage the word **bhū**, as **bhavati** or otherwise inflected, means a more than does **asti**, or a less, or the same or not the same.

I wrote on this matter to my friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Helmer Smith, asking too about the parallel Swedish terms, which are of much interest. In his kind, informative reply, which I am permitted to quote, he concludes by seeing danger in German treatment of the Vedic in this connexion, their language being too supple, too rich, their "marvellous philosophical vocabulary being borrowed from Romanticism." and that when, *e. g.*, the Upaniṣads give us the time-triad in terms of **bhū: yad bhūtac ca bhavac ca bhaviṣyac ca**,¹ or again **anyatra bhūtāc ca bhavyāc ca**,² "this **bhavat** is not necessarily das **Werdende**."

As to that I would reply: Gently, my friend, it is not a constant rendering of **bhavat** by **werden** in the German (Deussen) and

1. Brh 3, 8, 3.

2. Kaṭh. 2, 14. So in many other passages.

German-born (Max Müller) translators' works that has led me to put forward this inquiry. It is rather their frequent evasion of **werden** or become; their recourse not only to **asti**, but to other and makeshift terms which has helped to force the inquiry from me; forced me to ask here (a) Is **bhava**—some is either just **asti**, or one of those makeshifts? (b) Has a concepter been seducing? (c) Has there been a wish, conscious or unconscious, to belittle the significance in '**werden**,' '**becoming**,' either in the translator's own mind, or as not to be made much of in the utterances of the older Upaniṣads?

Let me first dwell on that wish as indicative of a present day attitude. Our literature has rung with the word evolution for some time, but so much have we been concerned with its application to things material, that we have never fitly linked it up with the idea of becoming as of the nature of the very man. And by man, I do not mean mind, or a complex or product of mind and body; I mean the mind-er, he whose ways in using body are mind.¹ But then we think about this as we do, as M. Bergson reminded us some years ago in London²—just because our science happened to begin with the material and not with the immaterial. We shall one day be as alive and alert about the unseen very man, the **puruṣa**, as **essentially in process of becoming**, as we are now about evolutionary processes in matter.

I say this, as in the second place true of modern treatises on the Upaniṣads, so far as I have had access to them. These works have rung with the phrase **Tat tvam asi** for some time, yet so much have they been concerned with identity as being, that the tremen-

1. Presidential Address, Soc. for Psychical Research.
2. "Not the bundle—called the "me", but the I—who inspects it," G. Radha Krishnan, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.

dous problem of identity through becoming has, so I have found, been relatively neglected. I have consulted several such works, also indexes and tables of contents. But either the word *Becoming* is omitted (*e. g.* the Index volume on S. B. E.), or it is barely mentioned (*e. g.* Dr. Hume's translation, on which more presently), or it is only mentioned as being "contested" (*e. g.* Deussen's translation, on which more presently).

Now in that the word has been practically passed over, this can only mean one of the three things : either (a) the writer, or (b) the indexer, or both were not interested in the word becoming, or (c) the Upaniṣads do not show such interest in it as to merit treatment, or index-place. As to the last instance in indexes, given above, surely, if a term be so significant, that the "contesting" (*Bekämpfung*) of it is sufficiently prominent in the text to call for a place in the Index, there is good reason, in a great historic succession such as the Upaniṣads admittedly form, to suspect, that the same term has, earlier in that succession, been championed. And I contend² that we do find this upholding of 'becoming'. But Deussen happened to be not only a fervent Vedântist, but a staunch Parmenidean—he admitted as much to me himself—for whom "what is, is", for whom becoming was "illusion." Hence, whereas he is very happy over the *Bestreitung* of *Werden* in *Īśā* & *Māṇḍūkya*, & its "glorious continuation in *Gauḍapāda's Kārikā*",¹ he tends to belittle the striking and very frequent *bhū*-references in the older Upaniṣads, and often uses a weak substitute for what we should expect to find rendered by *werden*.

To take but one instance out of dozens: in the well known passage on the dissolution of the bodily and mental complex, *Bṛhad.* 3,2,13 : *kvāyam tadā puruṣo bhavati?* "where then does the

1. Sechzig Upaniṣad, P. 527. f.

'man' (the soul) come-to-be ?, in other words, "where there-after does the becoming (which is the very life of the soul) go on?" Deussen makes the feeble rendering "Wo bleibt dann der Mensch (remains the man)?" Does the Sanskritist rejoin : But **bhavati** here means just "is," "happens" "finds himself?" He does not convince me. but I bow and give another instance. In Taittiriya 1,4,1, **amṛtasya Deva dhārāṇi bhūyasam** : "May I, O God, become bearer of the immortal" "Deussen gives us" möge ich . . . sein' "What waste of a fine word ready to hand! Surely the act of praying is man's will reaching into the Divine Will willing to become, to **be-a-More** than he **is**! There is not even metrical excuse, for he has anyway, in rendering otherwise faithfully, got too much into the line to scan. Deussen then **didn't want** to find any signs of appreciated becoming ; he was not a sufficiently disinterested historian to seek for such signs ; he even went out of his way to avoid them. He is therefore no safe guide for those who depend on translations.

Nor for that matter are Röer and Max-Muller, or in the one, the greatest Upaniṣad- Brhadāraṇyaka—Herold.' Far better in this one subject do I find Dr. R. E. Hume, who renders **bhava-** by 'become' far oftener than any of those four, even though he too here and there lapses. To take an instance out of many : he alone of all the five has, in the following, 'become' and not 'is' : —in the life (in his other body) of the man in the earth-body's sleep, earthly relations become invalid ; 'mother becomes not mother—śramaṇa not Sramaṇa—Vedas not Vedas'—' how

1. Messrs. Mead and Chattopadyaya's translation—alas! unfinished, but breathing more the Indian Spirit than any other—usually has 'become', but there too are a few lapses and makeshift terms.
2. Brh. 4, 3, 22.

much better and fitter here is 'becomes' than 'is' ! And yet, in the impressive teaching of the homily in the Taittirīya, taken over by the Sakyans: 'matṛdevo bhava, 'pitṛdevo bhava'—become he-who-has-mother-(as)-God, become he-who-has-father (as)-God, Dr. Hume with the rest falls back on 'Be one for whom, etc..' Just as if the teacher were not trying to make the pupil *come to-be better*, more, than he has been ! And further, when, in the Maitri Upaniṣad, (6, 8), the teacher urges that the Ātman be sought after under its many attributes (the list is probably later) of Iśāna, Śambhu, Bhava—, Dr. Hume has preferred here to render the last as "the Existent", and not as the Becoming—and leaves us wondering.

This may sound captious, but it will be, I think, conceded, that if we use a *static term*, (and that the strongest we have—be—) for an idea which is pretty obviously dynamic, progressive, we are **weakening the emphasis on the progress**: we are literally, if not virtually, using the drill-sergeant's command: "As you were!" We are bidding, if not like the sergeant, to revert, at best to be "marking time". Now my concern in these suggestions is with his other order: "March!". I have after years of study been driven to hear **that** in the mandate of Sākyamuni; and in studying him and his day, I am driven to see, that it was also in the mandate of the advanced wing of that day, in teachers of the established religion.

I will try briefly to buttress this assertion. Conceding all the way to the Vedic expert, that **bhū** may not always mean as strong a "More" over as— as becoming is over be-ing, I would at least remind him of this: In the Rik and Sama Vedas I find the verb **bhū-**, **bhava-**, finite tenses only, used some 40 times. In the 9 Upaniṣads, generally ranked as the oldest, I find the same finite verb used some 300 times. Bulk for bulk I believe this

represents a great proportional increase, in the use of the **bhū** by the latter over the use in the former stratum of Vedic literature. The old Upaniṣads are mainly in prose as the Vedas are not; but, in the few metrical portions also use is made of **bhū**; it is not a word confined to prose. The **bhū** contexts in these Upaniṣads are as follows (approximately):

Aitareya	— 4	Kauṣītaki	— 18	Bṛhadāraṇyaka	— 86
Kaṭha	— 18	Chhāndogya	— 60	Maitri	— 16
Kena	— 2	Taittirīya	— 10	Śvetāśvatara	— 6

If to these we add the number of times the verb is used within many of the contexts, we get at least 300. It will be said, that from these we must deduct the cases of the verb used in the future, where **as** becomes **bhū**. I on the contrary would suggest, that the preoccupation with the future, worded necessarily as “will become” weakens the case for “being”. It is a good point for the metaphysician who has seen that he must broaden his outlook by including history: Does Being, as that which will be, remain Being?

Other cases for which deduction may be claimed are matters of material change or happening: as in Bṛh. 6, 3, 13: “fourfold becomes the wood of the figtree,” or whereas in German, one would say **es wurde Nacht** for night fell. And there is the (apparent) idiomatic expression: **tad api eṣo śloko bhavati**, rendered “as to that there is this verse.” Translators have apparently thought that the speaker is quoting a mantra. I would suggest, that save where, if at all, the passage is recognized as of a Veda, or of an Upaniṣad deemed older, it may be that a coming to pass of a creative effort is meant: the teacher suspends his prose; improvising afflatus has arisen: “there becomes (in me) this verse—”. In Pali the expression is common in the Aorist: **evam asa ahesi**: “thus it occurred to him”. But I deduct and pass.

There still remains, as I rightly or wrongly see it, a preoccupation with the word ‘become’, which in its frequency is I believe

new, and as new, significant of something new in teaching. I must here be content with the numerical statement. Were I to give the full analysis I have made, this sketch would grow too long. Our translators, excepting the welcome literalness in this respect in Dr. Hume, show, that either 'to be', or other words *could have been used* by the utterers (and by later editors), where in the text we find 'to become.' But they don't; they choose to use **bhava**—And I am not here including the future tense; I am concerned, with the marked frequency of **bhavati**; (as present or 'historic present') and also with this, that in nearly every case it is used of the very man, the self; and also with this, that in most cases we see the man, in becoming, as becoming More, and also, here and there as becoming the Most. In this frequency I see no mere chance, no wording without a cause.

Rightly or wrongly I see in it a pre-occupation with the man, not as being, but as in process of becoming, which is new, and which is or should be felt to be, deeply significant. So deeply or I would say, so highly significant, that it could not be more so. I seem in these Upaniṣads to be in a world of teachers profoundly convinced of the truth of a great and new mandate in religion, *not put forward as new by them*—but by a Helper of man of an earlier, not much earlier date—which they are developing, amplifying, vindicating. That mandate was, that the man has it in his nature, by becoming More to become ultimately. That Most Who he (potentially) is. *They had no word for "potentially"*. (We owe the wording to Aristotle.) So they fell back on the word, the great word which they had at hand, the word "become." "Man is Brahman" means: Man is becoming Brahman:—**Tat tvam bhavasi**. Once we substitute this verb for the **asi** which editors have, with a repudiated Becoming, handed down to us, then a gospel which, as stated, is perhaps the height of impiety, becomes a message of light and hope to every man, in that it is the *very guarantee* of his personal salvation, in that it makes every stage in life, no matter

how many the lives, supremely worth living.

But with man as linked, in Becoming, with Deity, there would necessarily go a mighty *sublimation of that attribute*. And so we find it raised "to the highest power": we find it as positive attribute of Deity in action in the creation, as conceived in Taittir.yā, Bṛhadāraṇyaka and elsewhere. Here is no mere uttered fiat: here is the Divine Artist becoming, Itself becoming, *in the desire from being One to become More, Many*; "Let Me bring forth Myself," etc.¹ Becoming is here raised, from a state of progress from the imperfect to the less imperfect, to the glorified level and sphere of the work of one we call a great genius; becoming is now a becoming-other, a becoming a new Manifold, the Divine Play (līlā) of That Who, as Rāmānuja wrote, "creates and reabsorbs the universe."

This was a bold word; it was a conferring "the Immortal" on man as a corollary of his nature, and not, as in earlier mantras, a destiny conditional only on a man performing this and that prescribed act. We see this: "the mortal becoming immortal" lingering on in the Upaniṣads. It was too great a gospel to withstand inevitable reaction. Was not immortality a chief aim of the sacrifice? Was this to be pronounced unnecessary? And so those progressive teachers became as were the prophets beside the priests in Israel: their great mantras survived more or less intact and established, but the ecclesiastical ritual remained also, and with it reaction set in.

1. Not only in the one verb did the early teachers word becoming though they use it where translators do not (cf. *e. g.* M.M. in Bṛh. 1, 2, 5); *vibhavati*, develop, is used (Bṛh. 1, 4, 11), and such a play-in-words as *adhi-ardh* (develop, greatly thrive) and *adhi-ardha* (one and a half Bṛh. 3, 9, 10). Others might be adduced, such as *mā gamaya* "make me to go" (Bṛh. 1, 3, 27).

The reaction against the concept that man, in becoming, is but being true to his divine nature, may, I suggest, be seen creeping up in the Maitri, but no more. It is not till the *Iṣā* and the *Māṇḍūkya*, that actual repudiation is worded.¹ The *Śvetaśvatara* cannot be said to sound this change. Still for it does the man become, namely "on seeing the very *Ātman*, unitary, end-won, griefless," albeit it speaks of time not wholly in terms of becoming: the present is now not "the become" but "what the Vedas tell"; doubtless metrical exigency drove here. But the *Maitri* begins to 'hedge' on the matter of creation as a becoming of the Highest. In it the speaker makes the *primaeval* Man, when creating, not desire to become, but (a) "brood upon himself" (*abhidhyāyan*), (b) "think (Let me enter___)", (c) "utter___". Even here the traditional way lingers, for we read "This One became threefold, eightfold, etc." Yet the three substitutes I give, whereas they may by some be rated as riper thought, reaching out after more fitting terms, may rather indicate a shrinking from the earlier, bigger conception of becoming, and are ushering in a shrinkage in it, a reinstatement of the Highest as Being, and not as *Bhavat*.

In the later *Iṣā* and *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣads, later I deem by several generations, later than the beginnings of Buddhism, we see implicit the confession, that this matter of becoming *versus* being had evolved into a battlecry in religious debate, becoming being now termed *sambhūti*, a term which I do not find in the older Upaniṣads. Becoming is now reduced to mean, not exercise of an ever new Manifold in That who is, but an originating from that which was not—which is a different thing; and as involving a

1. I am aware that the *Maitri* is said to quote the *Iṣā* (7. 11), but this is only in the admittedly later *Khilas*, or 6th and 7th Sections.

complement of decay, which is a different thing. And in the comment of Gauḍapāda, which Deussen's biassed zeal forces upon readers of his Upaniṣad translation, we are landed in the view which sees, in the manifold and becoming, illusion, and that what really is cannot become, becoming in truth being only of what is there already. In the Iṣā, while there is the seed of decay of faith in becoming, in that it is viewed as *involving passing away*, we yet retain the faith, that the man "in becoming wins the goal." Here then is a becoming which, being of what is by nature divine, does *not involve* decay subsequent to maturity. In the Māṇḍūkya commentary, the halting logic of the Iṣā is purged, but at the fearful cost of voting becoming in the very man, the self, to be an illusion. And this coupling decay with becoming appears, a source of bane, in Buddhism.

It is the word of the "after man", reflecting his own age, unable to discern the greatness in the older wordings which were nearer in time to one of the greatest gospels of this world's history. And when I note, in the many translations of this literature, how the afterman in commentary has biassed the modern translator, I yield consent to K. E. Neumann's trenchant remark, that "when ecclesiastical fathers and doctors go to work with the best will to clear up dark mantras, they speak as would the blind of colour.....Auf mächtigem Glanz folgt naturgemäss Nacht." But with this added reservation:—that I would undertake no translation of scriptures without consulting commentaries, both for what they have said and for just that which they do not say, for herein also is history.

When all is said however, the commentator remains as one who sees worth in the Less and the Worse. For they, that is, their age has no longer understood the real message round which the Sayings on which they comment were uttered. So they fall back on less direct, and weaker meanings of words. Thus through

them the strong causative of **bhū** is veiled under the idea of foster or: cherish, as in Aitareyya 4, 2, 3. And elsewhere are such weaker renderings, as “propitiating”, “comforting”, “pleasing” the devas, of this same causative, with which the strong **bhāvaya** has, in the first instance, nothing to do. Why should we really feel compelled to fall back on such derivative renderings? In the Aitareya, the mother is “making her embryo become”—that is all in order. But why should we not also make devas become, that is, be More, Better than they were, and they make us the same? The Vedic scholar with a pantheon of “gods” filling the picture, may smile. But the passage I have in mind, to which my colleague, Dr. W. Stede has drawn my attention:

devān bhāvayatānena te devā bhāvayantu vaḥ,

Parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyaḥ param avāpsyatha, which my colleague Dr. Barnett has rendered: “With this comfort ye the gods and let the gods comfort you, etc. . . . is from the Gītā (III, 11), in a context reckoned as a later interpellation by Garbe. By that time devas were, as we have them in early Buddhist tradition, virtually the wise and kindly gentlemen who had passed for a while from earth to the next world, and often came back to those who were yet on earth either to give or to receive good counsel and who were very likely, their life-span over, coming back again to earth in the long Marga of each man’s becoming. Thus the mutual making-to-become in the More towards the Most is a very reasonable advice.

But a less wholesome expression crept up and is also visible in those passages judged by the same able critic to be later. This is the term **brahmabhūta**: become-the-Most.¹ The term may, like other affixes: —**maya**, —**gata**, have come at some time to express our ‘of the nature of’, or ‘akin to’. But we do not find this compound in earlier Vedic, and in these probably early instances it

1. Bhagavadgītā 5, 24; 6, 27; 18, 54.

seems highly significant, namely, that the happy state of the Yogi consists, among other features, in his "being *brahmabhūta*." Here we have, as it were, said farewell to the healthy state of willing to become, of living in that willing, and thereby becoming step by step as far Brahma-wards as it is given any man, however saintly, to become on earth. The one-in-nature-with the Most is realized, but to the exclusion of any emphasis on, any joy in, the becoming *More on the Way to the Most*. It is a premature value, in the "done"; and again — another later symptom — it is *value in the Idea*, rather than the Thing; and that means that the man is holding himself in worth as mind, rather than as he who is minding. As we should expect, the mind-ridden monasticism of early Buddhism shared in the expression, calling both the recluse and its founder *Brahmabhūta*,

"experiencing happiness dwells with the self become-Brahman." 1

But whereas the Buddhist came to slur over, and finally lose sight of, this once vital phrase, the Vedāntist saw in it only the idea of identity, losing sight of the needed making-actual the potential oneness. The commentators' tradition no longer values the idea or the word *bhavat*, or its causative, in its earlier meaning, nor for that matter do we either, and so we too, I venture to think, fail either to see, or to value what the original utterers were, it may be, trying to say.

And this was, not the "thou art That" in the preposterous sense of the one term equating the other in any complete sense of the word, but the *Tat tvam asi* only where both *asi* and *bhavasi* coincide, both in the spirit and in the letter: *Tat tvam bhaviṣyati*. Only in becoming the More, with the will ever working, will the man ultimately "be" in and as the Most. 2 In such holy becoming

1. Majjhima, I, 341 f; 412; Anguttara, II, 206, 111; etc.;

2. As G. Radhakrishnan well says: "The God-in-man is a task as well as a fact." *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*.

there is no complementary decay to follow, as in things material; it is a Becoming-other in the More and the Many, which, in virtue of the man being the Self in-the-Most only potentially, or in the germ, is in his case of necessity a becoming less imperfect. But it is little wonder that we so veil this word of the life-career in, not body or mind, but the very **puruṣa** when that **puruṣa** himself we of to-day keep so in the background. And we had not else so lost sight of the Becoming which was what the Śakyamuni was trying to say in his Way-figure, and for which India's mediaeval manuals blamed his followers, the Bauddhas, the Saugatas. For these followers had themselves lost the message of Becoming in the greater sense, just as their critics saw in it only an impossible becoming out of nothing.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

THE FOURFOLD ASPECT OF THE ~~MANI~~ BEING IN MANICHAISM.

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Some hesitation is felt in offering to a great master like Sir George A. Grierson a small contribution on a subject relating to Manichaeism, but all matters concerning the Middle East come within the field of his profound erudition. Moreover, India (that is, Northern India) is included by Albīrūnī, together with China (or Chinese Turkistan), as among the regions in which Mani preached his gospel while in exile from Persia.¹ The theme chosen here for presentation relates to a tenet in Mānī's religion with regard to the four chief aspects of the Godhead.

We are familiar with an expression in the Greek Formula of Abjuration which accurately refers to the God of Mānī as 'The Father of Greatness with four faces (i. e. aspects).'² This striking attribute represents the divine figure as fourfold in his majesty.³

1. Sachau, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* by Albīrūnī, p. 192. Some scholars are inclined to doubt Albīrūnī's statement as to India, but I feel no hesitation in accepting it so far as Northern India is concerned.

2. Gk. Formula § 2, see K. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403 (text), 359 (transl.), cf. also Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 1. col. 1461.

3. For the adjective *τετραπρόσωπος*, there are three renderings possible:—(1) 'of four faces', (2) 'of four aspects', (3) '(consisting) of four persons'. Something, perhaps, might be urged in favour of the third (3) meaning, because the noun *πρόσωπον* (Lat. *persona*), in the sense of 'person, personality,' is a synonym of *ὑπόστασις*, in which case the four 'persons'

Its connotation agrees exactly with the aspects of the Godhead presented in the Turfan Fragments and in the non-Manichaean sources, as given below.

Thus, for example, in the *Turfan Pahlavi* Manichaean texts we have at least three (or four) passages which present the Supreme Being in his fourfold aspect of divinity, light, power, and wisdom. The passages are in full accord, the only divergences being slight variations due to the use of the dialect, southwestern or northern, as respectively employed in the two latter cited and in the first.⁴ The three passages referred to will be found, with comments, in my forthcoming volume (in the

(three phases of the divine personality being added as parts to the whole) would make up a supreme Tetrad. Compare, somewhat similarly, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2.322. I so, we might compare Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20.7, end (cf. 20.6, end), as cited somewhat below. But on the whole it seems preferable to adopt the first (1) meaning, 'fourfaced', supplemented by the implied idea (2) of 'aspect'. This interpretation appears to be borne out by a reference to such a conception in *TPhl. Frag. M. Pers.* 1, 1-3, *cahar qanārag . . . Pīd 'i Vazurgīi*, 'Father of Greatness . . . four sides (*i. e.* in four directions). See Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, 1904, p. 250, in *Sitzb. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, 1904. Indirectly, and simply as a parallel, we may recall in Hinduism the epithet of Brahma as 'Four-faced' (*Skt. catur-ānana, caturmukha*).

4. Thus in the last two lines below quoted, we have the southwestern dialect, characterized particularly by *Zarvān* (as Deity, *Zōr, Vah̄th*, in contrast to the northern dialectic equivalents, *Bē, zāvar, Zīrēft*, for God, Power, and Wisdom. Concerning such dialectic variations, especially S. W. dial. *Zarvān*, consult (quoting the authority of Andreas) Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 71 middle, and elsewhere,

press) on *Researches in Manichaeism*, Study IV, note on Frag. Š. 7 d. 13, published by the Columbia University Press. They are first these, each with a reference to the texts published by F. W. K. Müller, in *Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1904 ('Handschriften-reste—aus Turfan') and ('Eine Hermasstelle in Manichäischer Version'), in the same Academy's transactions (SPAW), Berlin, 1905, to be tabulated as follows:—

‘ God Light Power Wisdom

in M. 176 (—Mü. p. 61-62)

Bag Rōšan zāvar Žirift

in M. 31 (=Mü. 'Hermas')

Yazd Rōšan Zōr Vahih

in M. 324 (=Mü. p. 74 bot.)

Bē Zarvān Rōšan Zōr Vahih

Add to these likewise a fourth citation, petitional also in its content, found at the beginning of a Turkish Manichaean Hymn, T II D, 162, lines 1—2, which opens with this fourfold group of aspects of the Supreme Being in Turfan Pahlavi, giving them then in the next line with their Turkish equivalents, before proceeding with the Hymn. The two initial, bilingual, lines of its beginning state that it is 'A Hymn to'

B (a)γ, Rōšan, Zaw (a)r, Žirift, nung bašta.

t(ā)ngri y(a)ruq küclüg bilgä°.

5. For the text see A. V. Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, 2. p. 10, in *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1919. A reminiscence of this same tetrad is also preserved in a later Turkish (Uigurian) blessing (TM. 417 end) which is invoked upon the new monarch Iduq-qut (see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 34, lines 29—24). This invocation closes with the benediction: 'May there come the Four Light Princely Gods, (manifested through) the Burkhangs (Spiritual Messengers), mighty in prayer in the ten regions (of the heavens).' If I rightly interpret, the divine tetrad is manifested likewise in its inspired Messengers who appear from time to time. We may, therefore, possibly see in this clause an allusion also, as elsewhere in the

Furthermore, in the **Turkish Confession-Prayer** (*Khuastuanift*=*xvāstavānift*, 'self-confession, lines 177—183)*, the fourfold aspect of the Supreme Being is also symbolized in the **Four Light (or Bright) Seals** 'that are to be kept in the heart of the true believer, namely:

- 'Four Light Seals (*tört y(a)ruk tamya*) have we sealed in our hearts. (1) One is Love, (and that is) the seal of *Azrua* the God. (2) The second (is) Faith, the seal of the God of the Sun and the Moon. (3) The third is the Fear of God, (and this is) the seal of the Fivefold God (*i. e.* Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the wise Knowledge, the seal of the *Burkhans* (or Divine Revelers of Religion).'

It is clear from this passage that the Godhead himself is indicated by the confession of love for Azrua; his Light by an expression of faith in the Sun and Moon; his Power by sealing in the heart a reverence for Primal Man as a celestial force; and his Wisdom, by believing in the existence of Divine Messengers (*Burkhans*) who from time to time bring inspired knowledge into the world.*

Manichæan Fragments, to Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, and Mani, as the messengers of divinity, especially because the *Burkhans* 'change their names and forms.' For the Turkish text of the latter quotation see *Le Coq, Türk. Man.* 3. p. 34, lines 6-7, bottom.

6. An etymological explanation of this designation is already prepared for printing, and it is hoped that it may appear some time later.

7. See Jackson, *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 44. p. 69 ff. with full references.

8. Consult again, with references, *op. cit.* p. 69 etc.

Next, in a Chinese Manichaean Fragment, discovered by Pelliot (see *JA*. 1913, p. 105, 116), the divine personality in his fourfold form is undoubtedly referred to as 'the Four Calm Bodies of the Law, which Four Bodies of the Law are . . . (rest wanting).'⁹ It is quite certain moreover, that there is an allusion to the tetrad in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise as well. The passage in question (*JA*. 1911, p. 552) speaks of 'the Three Permanences and the Five Greatnesses (*i.e.* members) of the Great Light.' Here it is evident that these three abiding attributes of the Godhead are Light, Power, and Wisdom, which, combined with himself, make up his fourfold aspect as the Supreme Being.¹⁰ Furthermore, we may similarly interpret a thrice-repeated reference to 'the Four Calm Bodies in the long Chinese hymn in praise of Jesus (H. 27d, 38d, 56b, c).'¹¹

We may now turn to a couple of passages in the indirect sources relating to this Manichaean tenet. An Arabic reference in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* is important because it defines each of these divine aspects more fully, quoting from Mānī himself. According to an-Nadīm's statement Mani enjoined four spiritual precepts that were to be accepted by all believers, in addition to the three seals of conduct and his ten commandments.¹² These four injunctions are summed up in the following words:

'Belief in the Four Great Majesties (lit. Greatnesses), namely, (1) God, (2) his Light,

9. See Pelliot, *JA*. 1913. p. 105, 116. and consult Jackson, *JAOS*, 44. 70-71.

10. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 522 n. 1, also interpret the allusion in this manner.

11. See the Chinese text, with translation, in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 102, 104, 107.

12. Cf. Jackson, *JAOS*. 44-70.

(3) his P o w e r, and (4) his W i s d o m. Now, (1) God, whose name is glorious, is the King of the Paradises of Light; (2) his Light is the Sun and the Moon; (3) his Power is the Five Angels, namely, the Zephyr (ether), Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4) his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.' (This last clause is further explained as referring to the revealers and exemplars of the faith.)¹³

S a i n t A u g u s t i n e hints at the same idea of the divine tetrad when he represents Faustus as trying to adapt Mani's fourfold notion to that of the Christian Trinity (*Contra Faustum*, 20, 1 seq.). According to the Manichaean spokesman the Father dwells in the 'light inaccessible'; the Son, being twofold, has his station in the s u n and the m o o n; the Holy Spirit (cf. the Living Spirit in Manichaeism) resides in the whole circle of the air. Faustus, in his argument, is made to explain the second member in the following manner; 'Since the Son is himself t w o f o l d — just as the Apostle (i. e. Paul) recognized him to be, when he said "Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God— We (Manichaeans) believe that his P o w e r dwells in the son and his W i s d o m in the moon' (*C. F.* 20.2; *New Test.* and see *Cor.* 1.24). In refutation the Christian Father argues at length to show the fallacy of this distribution of the divine power and wisdom, and condemns the whole nation as being 'a threefold or rather a fourfold fiction' (*ibid.* 20.6, 7, 8). In any case, Augustine's long argument shows that he recognized this tenet of Deity, Light, Power, and Wisdom as an article of Mani's creed.¹⁴

Furthermore, we should observe that several times in the

13. See G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text, 95 (transl.); *id.* complete edition of the Fihrist text, 1. p. 333.

13. See Aug. *Contra Faust.* 1. 1-8, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 42 Cf. also F. C. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religions system*, p. 206-207.

Turfan Pahlavi texts this fourfold group of divine aspects is referred to under the comprehensive designation *farahān*, 'the Glories', that is, of the Supreme Being, and are associated with 'Angels and Spirits' (*prēstagān 'ūd vāxšān*).¹⁵ Thus, for example, the 'Glories' (*paraḥ'ān*, etc.) in M. 4 d 11-14 (=Mü. p. 55), 'May new blessing and new triumph come from the divinity Zarvān, above the "Glories", and Angels, (and) Spirits of this Realm,'

(*nōg āfrīn nōg pērōzih āyād az bē Zarvān abar paraḥ'ān 'ūd prēstagān vāxšān 'ig 'in šahr*). Similarly, from the same hymn and prayer M. 4 e 22-23 (Mü. p. 57 mid.) may be cited: *āvarēd paraḥān vāšān, 'ūd zōrān; padirēd dāšn*, 'come hither ye Glories, Spirits, and Powers.' Still farther on in this devotional text, M. 4 f. 19-21 (=Mü. p. 57 mid.), directly after invoking a blessing upon Mānī and paying homage to Great Shining Glory (*i. e.* Zarvān), the true believer further expresses his faith: 'I believe in Holy Spirit (*vāxš yōzdahr*). together with the Glories (*abāg paraḥān*) and the powerful Angels (*prēstagān abzārān*.)' In a different text, M. 43 recto, lines 7-8 (=Mu. p. 78 bot), which contains an address made by the Manichaean Community to an Uigurian Khan, we read: 'May the Deed-accomplishing Ones (*qērdagārān*, here-Angels), the Glories (*farahān*), (and) the Spirits (*vāxšān*), bestow blessing upon thee, the ruler.' Lastly, in a prayer, M. 543 verso, lines 6-9 (=Mü. p. 80 top), we find in an ascending order, 'Angels—Spirits—Glories (*prēstagān vāxšān—parihān*)'¹⁶

For the sake of completeness, or only as an indirect parallel, we may add that two Syriac writers of the fifth century A. D.,

15. See also the observations in my book (in the press) *Researches in Manichaeism*, Study IV, note on *pryh* (*farēh* in Fragment S. 7 a 9 (second paragraph),

16. In (*parihān* (for the more common *paraḥān*) the vowel *i* is merely an anaptyctic vowel, being found also in a number of other words,

namely Ādhrhormīzd and Theodore bar Khoni, allude to a somewhat similar fourfold division as being recognized by Zoroastrians in Sasanian times, the context in each case showing that it is the Zarvanite doctrine to which reference is made. The names in the tetrad mentioned are given as Ashōkar, Frashōkar, Zarōkar, Zarwān. The last one certainly corresponds to Zarvān, which, as we have seen, stands first in Mānī's fourfold group; but it is difficult to equate the other three (despite their evident Iranian character) with corresponding members of his tetrad.¹⁷

17. Both Syriac writers give the four nomes in identical forms and in the same order, with Zarwān last. Thus Ādhrhormīzd (d. 447 A. D.), who was a Christian convert from Magism, attacks the Zoroastrians for counting as gods, 'A s h h ō q a r, F r a s h ō q a r, Z a r ō q a r, and Z a r w ā n' (see the German translation by Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 37, Stuttgart, 1893); compare also the remarks and references by F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme* I, p. 8 n. 2, Brussels, 1903; consult likewise an English translation of the passage by J. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System', in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 67-68, London, 1925. In like manner Theodore bar Khoni, ed Pognon, p. 111 (text) 162 (transl.), asserts that 'the Magian Zoroaster . . . set up at the beginning, four principles as the four elements (namely) A s h ō q a r, F r a s h ō q a r, Z a r ō q a r, and Z a r w ā n, 'and he says that Zrrwān was the father of Ormazd.' See likewise transl. by A. Yohannan, in *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* (1923) 43. p. 240, with n. 4. Compare, in general, W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 89-90, 236-237, Göttingen, 1907. In both these Syriac allusions, remarked above, the name Zarwān comes last in order, and reference has been made to the difficulty of equating the other three personifications with those in the Manichaean tetrad, as further noted in the next paragraph.

From the material presented above, we may rest assured that Mānī demanded of the faithful a belief in this cardinal tenet of the Godhead as possessing four aspects, Divinity, Light, Power, and Wisdom. (See also appended Table). It was natural, therefore, as already shown by the anathema against it in the Greek Formula of Abjuration, that a recantation of this special dogma was among the very first exacted of those who adopted the Christian religion.

Etymologically these three terms in Syriac are plainly Iranian names, and a derivation for each of the first two can readily be given. From the language of the Avesta and from Pahlavi we know that Ašōqar would signify 'Making Righteousness'; and Frašōqar, 'Making (the world) advanced to Perfection.' The derivation of Zarōqar, however, has not yet been made clear. Possibly (but only as a guess) we might suggest vocalizing the unpointed Syriac term, since it is Iranian, as z (i)rōqar, instead of z (a) rōqar, and consider the word to mean 'Making wise.' It would then match with the Manichaean epithet zireft, 'wisdom' which is itself an abstract derivative from Tphl. zīr or zir, 'wise' (dialectic variants), cf. Av. jira, jira- 'wise, intelligent.' But the long vowel in Tphl. renders the conjecture somewhat uncertain.

Merely as a corollary in regard to the general subject of tetrads, but not for comparison, we may observe that in later times (i. e. first part of the sixth century A. D.) the Persian heretic Mazdak recognized 'four forces' (Discrimination, Insight, Memory Joy) as a fundamental part of the divine power. Although Mazdak shows numerous traces of the influence of Mānī (who lived three centuries earlier), the four abstractions just cited bear no special relation to the Manichaean tetrad. For a German translation of this passage in Shahristānī, see Haarbrücke 1. 192.

November 29, 1930.
Columbia University.
New York City.

RESUME OF THE DIVINE MAJESTY IN ITS FOURFOLD ASPECT.

Gk. Formula of Abjuration (on renouncing Manichaeism) —9th cent. A.D.

ΤΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΕΘΟΥΣ

Turfan Pahlavi Manichaean Fragments

(1) Bē Zarvān (Bag, Yazd) (2) Rōšan (3) Zōr (4) Vah

(Zāvar) (Zīrēft)

Divinity (God) Zarvān Light Power Wisdom

Turkish Manichaean Fragments (with Iranian equivalents First)

Bay	Rōšan	Zāvar	Zīrēft
t(ü)ngri	y(a)ruq	küclüg	bilgü
Divine	Luminous	Powerful	Wise

Chinese Text

Four Calm Bodies of Law (Religion)

An Nādim's Fihrist — Mānī's first Precept enjoins belief in

Allah	Nūr u-hu	Quwwat u hu	Hikma u-hu
God	His Light	His Power	His Wisdom

(Fihrist further interpretation=)

1. God - King of the Paradise of Light
2. Light—of the Sun and the Moon
3. The Five Angels: Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, Fire
(cf. TPhl etc. Fragments)
4. Wisdom—the Holy Religion—through inspired Teachers
(i. e. Burkhan, or Divine Messengers)
 - a. Teachers,—who are Sons of Intellect
 - b. Those who are enlightened by the Sun - Sons of Knowledge.
 - c. Presbyters,—who are Sons of Understanding.
 - d. Elect (Faithful),—who are Sons of Discretion (Mystery)
 - e. Hearers (Auditors),—who are Sons of Insight (Discernment)

St. Augustine, 'Against Faustus'

Relating to the Godhead as Light, Power, Wisdom

(Syr iac Allusions to)—Ašōqar, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zarwān
(in late Zoroastrianism)

AFFIRMATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES IN TIBETAN.

Max Walleser (Heidelberg).

It is a well known phenomenon of the written Tibetan language that the principal sentences generally terminate with the vowel *o*- and the interrogative ones with *-am*, whilst the subordinate clauses mostly terminate with *-e*, this being the termination of the gerund-participle *-ste*, *-te*, *-de*, with which subordinate sentences of past action are joined in most cases to the following principal ones. Jaeschke, in his *Tibetan Grammar* (1883). § 34. 1, gives the following rule: "The principal, verb of a sentence, which always closes it (§ 43) receives in written Tibetan in most cases a certain mark, by which the end of a period may be known. This is, in affirmative sentences, the vowel *o* (called by the grammarians: *-star sdu ba*), in interrogative ones, the syllable *am*.¹"

Before both the closing consonant of the verb is repeated, or, if it ends with a vowel, *ho* and *ham* are written." There are certain cases - Jaeschke enumerates five of them - where these additional syllables are omitted.

The same thing has been said, after Ozoma di Körösi, by I. I. Schmidt in his "*Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache*" (1839) in this manner:—"Den Schlu der periode bildet die Copula *ho* mit Wiederholung des Schlubkonsonanten der letzten Silbe der periode". Foucaux, *Grammaire de la langue tibetaine* (1858) p. 64, gives the same rule with the following words: „Ces mêmes verbes s'emploient souvent en redoublant leur lettre finale avec la particule *ho* La particule *ho*, seule ou ajoutée à la consonne finale répétée du mot qui précède, peut exprimer le verbe être

1. For the rules of native grammarians cf. Schubert, *Tibetische National grammatik*. (Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, vol. XXXII, 1929), p. 53.

avec toutes sortes de noms''. We may add at once that this last interpretation of the termination-*ha* by the verb "to be" does not seem to be correct in so far as there is no special meaning contained in the terminating vowel and that thus Foucaux's explanation is not only too wide but totally fails its aim.

How is this rather curious linguistical fact, parallels to which have scarcely ever been stated in any other language, to be explained? The answer to this question can perhaps be given, if we rightly understand the note belonging to § 34 of Jaeschke's Grammar where the author speaks about the modern use as to the formation of affirmative and interrogative sentences. He says: "In conversation the *-o* is generally omitted, and the *m* of the interrogative termination is dropped, so that merely the vowel *a* is heard, e. g. the question *mihon niam*, "do you see?" and the answer *mthoñ ño*, " (I) see'', are commonly spoken in W. T. : *t'oñ ña ! t'oñ*.

May we really suppose that so radical a change has taken place between the moment of fixing the orthography and modern times? Or is it not more probable that the old pronunciation did not differ in this point from the modern one, and that the difference is rather one of writing, or rather of internal hearing, in so far as the originators of the Tibetan orthography in the seventh century A. D. did express not only what they heard from others who were pronouncing, but also those somewhat more indiscriminate sounds which they heard while observing the sound-articulations of their own in repeating those kinds of sentences for themselves (although but articulating them) while writing them down. I have tried elsewhere¹ to show that the kind of writing introduced by Indian Pandits in Tibet, was extraordinarily exact, considering not only the real

sounds which were heard, but also those vanishing and disappearing noises which are caused by the movements of the other parts and organs of the mouth besides the one which is to be regarded as the principal source of a special sound. In a similar way I hope to have proved with sufficient reasons, that the so-called superscribed and subscribed letters as in *sbr*, which are generally transcribed by putting them after one another : *sbr*., instead of above one another $\overset{\cdot}{b}$, have been pronounced simultaneously, so that there is one single sound, but consisting out of two or more sounds or rather articulations, formed at different places of articulation and mixing together into one special kind of consonant which contains the elements of two or three consonants without being similar to any one of them. So it may be, that *sbran-bu*, which now-a-days, "according to Jaeschke's Dictionary, is generally pronounced *dan-bu* with "cerebral" *d*, may have had this pronunciation already in the time, when the orthography was fixed, and that this is to be explained by the fact that the writing did not try to render directly the auditive impression, but the characteristic kind of articulation as well, which, if well understood, will not leave any doubt as to the exact pronunciation of the written sounds nor to the auditive impression, which it leaves in the hearing individual. If we are allowed to suppose that the phonetical culture of the Pandits who were engaged in fixing the Tibetan language in written characters for the first time, was high enough as to allow them a free use of those principles which Jespersen and his colleagues in phonetics hold to be necessary in writing down phonetical texts to day, especially such of till now unfixed dialects and languages, we may presume as well, that with the strange rules about ending principal clauses with *o*- and interrogative ones with *-am* they have, unconsciously perhaps, fixed the natural laws that direct the musical movement of the voice in differentiating the expression for assertion and interrogation.

If we take our issue from this proposition, we may come to the following results.

It is a well known linguistic fact, that, whenever an asserting sentence is being finished, the voice sinks down, before it totally vanishes. Now this last expiring of voice may be expressed by a vowel-sound corresponding to *o*. On the other hand, if there is a subordinate sentence preceding the principal one, the voice rises to a certain pitch, which may be the highest one generally reached by the pronouncing individual. *e. g.* in the sentence: "If you are sick you must go to the physician," the musical intonation is rising as far as the end of the conditional proposition, while it reaches its deepest tone at the termination of the whole sentence. Now, if the mouth were closed immediately after pronouncing the last sound of the sentence, it would be difficult to understand that there is still an *o* to be heard. But—and this is curious enough, although scarcely to be doubted at—the lips are not shut immediately, in the German language as little as in the English one, and, we may presume in the Tibetan as well. In every case the last consonant, and especially the explosives, must have their final explosion of a kind of vocalic character, which will have, as has been shown above, the greatest similarity with an indistinct *o*.

Now, if this theory of considering the Tibetan rules about the terminations of affirmative sentences hits the mark, we may confide to have found the clue for understanding those about the interrogative sentences. While comparing the musical intonations of this kind of sentences in European languages we may note at once, that here the musical accentuation is rising till reaching its highest pitch with the last utterance of voice. The termination of the question and the expectation of an answer may be specially marked by closing the mouth in order to show, that the questioning person has got nothing more to say himself and that he expects an immediate answer from the other. This, too,

is a linguistic fact, which, although perhaps never before stated in this crude form, may be proved experimentally by any one, who is somewhat accustomed to experimentally observing the articulatory movements executed by the speech-organs of one's own. It may be, that, after a question, the mouth is not always and absolutely shut. But, we may add, in this case the question is not a peremptory one, it still has the character of balancing and of doubt, and, in every case, the questioned person will earnestly feel moved to reply only when seeing and hearing, that her interlocution has entirely finished speaking and eagerly waits for a reply. This shutting of the mouth is represented by the termination *am* (with a labial-nasal) in interrogative sentences in Tibetan. In the case, too, the vowel of the terminating syllable is nothing but the indistinct noise which is heard also in the Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit *a* at the end of words, where, as every one knows, we generally do not hear any vowel-sound at all, as is sufficiently proved by the writing of words like *Vasudev* (instead of —*deva*) without the terminating *a* which is really nearly inaudible, but not totally wanting. There is always some weak vocalic noise at the end, as is shown by the voice-character of the last consonant, e. g. *v* in our example *Vasudev*. This very weak voice sound is nothing else but the sound represented by Sanskrit *a*, which in opposition to all the other vowels, is designated by Pāṇini as well as by the native grammarians generally, as narrow (*saṃvṛta*) while all the others are said to be open (*vivṛta*). Of course this sound cannot be what we generally mean by *a*, but it is rather the indistinct vowel-sound known in other Indo-European languages as well and called here shwa indogermanicum, in imitation of the shwa known in Semitic languages.¹

1. Cf. M. Walleser, 'Zur Aussprache von skr. a' Zeitschr. f. Indologie Iranistik, Vol. V (1927) p. 197,

We may understand now better, why a quite disappearing noise which in the transcription of languages and dialects is mostly not taken care of, has not only been noted in the Tibetan alphabet which had—as we already observed—the preference of having been formed by the very best practitioners in phonology and phonetics, but that it has bestowed even the fundament for differentiations in sentence intonation which in no other language have ever been marked. It is true, the musical accent is given in a few other languages as well, *e. g.* the Vedic Sanskrit and the Greek of the Alexandrian grammarians by the use of “accents”, and in Chinese by the different “tones” (*shêng*) introduced by Indian Pandits together with the “rhyme-tables” in the sixth century A. D.¹

But all these notations consider only the word-accent. The sentence intonation, *i. e.* the rising and lowering of the musical flowing of the spoken language, escapes even much easier the attempts of being grasped, as it is not combined with single words but depends entirely on the special aim and meaning, in which the sentence is pronounced. Thus the difference of the assertion “You are ill” and the question: “You are ill?” consisting in the lowering of the voice in the first case, and in rising it in the second, is marked only in Tibetan by changing the terminating syllable of the sentence into *o* or *am* although the distinction may be so slender that the ear of the modern foreigner and perhaps even of the native (*viz.* if there has not been a systematical instruction in observing even the slightest alterations in pronouncing) does not remark it, as we have seen above.

Also the conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of modern Tibetan dialects, a number of which are represented in patterns

1, Cf. B.Karlgren, *Thonolgie chinoise* (1915) p. 29 f.

in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, Tibeto-Burman family, Part I, Tibeto-Himalayan group, tend to the same results. Here we find that in none of the patterns of modern dialects there is ever taken notice of a differentiation between positive and interrogative sentences as to the termination with the exception of two,¹ those of Lahul (p. 71) and of Khams (p. 138), both of which have been noted by Jaeschke. I am sorry to say that neither of these two samples can be acknowledged to be an unobjectionable rendering of the special dialect, as they contain, not like the others, stories of common use, but a Buddhist scriptural text evidently taken from a Sutra contained in the bKah-hgyur collection and read aloud by one conversant with the concerning dialect with the phonetic peculiarities of even this dialect. The text itself, with its succession of words and synthetical constructions, is in both cases identical so that there can be no doubt that here we have no idiomatic examples of dialects at all. Consequently we must not wonder if here the terminations in *-o* have been taken over from their scriptural source and that their pronunciation is also marked by *-o*. We can confidently say that this pronunciation is rather artificial and cannot be regarded as a proof for its effectual existence in the dialects of Lahul and Khams. This supposition may be strengthened by the circumstance that also in the newest grammars of the chief dialect of the Tibetan language, which at the same time is the one used all over the country as the *lingua franca*—I, but refer to Ch. Bell, *Grammar of colloquial Tibetan*.—there is nowhere spoken of those terminations in *o* or *am*, neither do the numerous examples of idiomatic Tibetan sentences given there betray with a syllable that anyhow they may be pronounced to-day.

1. As to the specimen for the Central Dialect (p. 79) communicated by Mr. David Macdonald and Col. Waddell from the State of Sikkim (1899), it is taken from the translation of the Bible and must be considered after the principles prevailing there,

It is true that the Tibetan translations of the Bible and especially of the New Testament observe strictly the use of final *o* and *am* with the exception of metrical passages.¹

Of course, all these seeming exceptions from the rule generally observed are to be explained by the fact that these translations of the Bible have been modelled exactly after the patterns given by the doctrine of Buddha in the translations of the *bkah-hgyur*. In this respect the learned and sacred language of the Buddhist tradition has proved superior to the newly invading Christendom by imparting to it not only its elevated style of diction and its venerable language of an age long passed by, but also those old-fashioned peculiarities of pronunciation which no-body to-day would introduce from plainly considering the spoken language, if there were not the unwritten law of religious style and diction which commands the employment of peculiarities elsewhere out of use.

I should not like to conclude this short study without pointing towards the exactness and acuteness of the Tibetan orthography which often unfolds characteristics of the spoken language which even to the phonologically practised scholar are not immediately perceivable. So I may refer to the phonema of "complex" consonants about which I have treated in my paper "Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen" (Heidelberg 1926) and which are represented in Tibetan (as well as partly in Sanskrit) by superscribing and subscribing letters to one another. As this theory has found

1. E. g. Gospel of St. Matthew, Shanghai (1908) p. 3 (11.6), p. 25. (XI, 11). p. 27 (XII, 18, 21). p. 37 (XV, 8, 9). p. 53 (XXI, 43). St. Mark p. 1 (I, 243). p. 18 (VII, 7), p. 33 (XII, 10, 11). St. Luke p. 3 (I, 47-55), p. 5 (I, 68-79), p. 7 (II, 29-32), f. 9 (III, 4-5) etc.

some difficulty in making itself intelligible, I beg to adduce here one more proof which will perhaps convince even those adversaries who till now appear inaccessible to reasons and arguments drawn chiefly from Sanskrit correspondences of Tibetan phonomena.

It consists in what follows.

In his attempt ("Versuch") on Tibetan-Chinese word equations Dr. W. Simon advances the somewhat striking assertion (p. 186) that *r* and *l* to be met with at the beginning of Tibetan words are not "prefixes" but "transposed sounds" ("versetzte Laute"). I am not disposed to quarrel here about the conception of "prefixes" which may admit some doubts both as to their pronunciation (phonetic value) and to their historical explanation. What I wish to emphasize here is only the character of these sounds as of such which are not to be treated as individual and independent ones but rather as intimately combined with the primary sounds to which they are joined. I have elsewhere proposed for these super and subscribed letters the designation of "complex consonants" wishing herewith to say that they influence the entire complex of sounds in forming out of it one single acoustic impression, although the articulating basis of this phonema may be divided according to the co-operation of the different organs of the mouth which all of them are to participate in giving any sound the special timbre which it has in the individual connection where it happens. About all the details of this theory I must refer the reader to look into my paper quoted above. Now I should like to come to meet Dr. Simon half way in admitting his proposition (which really I hold not to be proved) that there was a kind of metathesis ("eine der Aussprache- erleichterung dienende Lautversetzung") being the cause for speaking *ln* instead of (unproved!) *ñl*

1. Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen. Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische-Sprachen, Berlin, XXXII. 1929, p. 157 ff.

or *le* instead of (unproved!) *cl*: Does Dr. Simon really think that such a "metathesis" which is required by him may take place without affecting intimately the sound across which or round about which the "metathesis" is acting? Does he not see that we must nowadays, where the study of phonetics is advanced far enough as to request also the consideration of articulatory changes of secondary rank, consider not only the chief consonant which is generally heard and accordingly written in the plain phonetic transcription often thought sufficient for transcribing the sounds of languages, but also those vanishing and not always audible alterations of sound brought about by the position of the more or less inactive parts of the mouth! I have laid stress elsewhere on the demand raised chiefly by Jespersen¹ to employ for phonetic transcriptions no more single letters but rather a system of lines, each of which is destined for denoting all the alterations to which a single organ of sound-formation, *e. g.*, the lips, the point of the tongue etc., may underlie successively during the whole process of articulating a text of sentences which are to be fixed by phonetical script. If Dr. Simon will think necessary to comply to this commanding request of phonology, how will he treat these consonants which are specially affected by this "metathesised" sounds, *vis.*, those "across" or "through" or "above" which the metathesis is to take place? I think he will feel constrained to connote in the graphical scheme drawn according to the requirements stated above the "metathesised" consonants together with their pertinent ones, that is to say, he will write these different articulations above one another exactly as is done in the Tibetan script with those consonants which are joined with superscribed *r* or *l*. Properly said, it is not true at all that these two signs are prenxes in Tibetan, they are superscribed

1. Grundfragen der Phonetik. (1904) p. 65 ff.

and this can mean only that they are pronounced at the same time with those sounds above the letters of which they are noted. If Dr. Simon will condescend to an understanding of these relations well known as for the rest to every one who has occupied himself a little with practical phonetics—there is no doubt he will find a much more satisfactory solution for the difficulties which induced him to the somewhat peculiar assumption of a metathesis in cases where both the Tibetan and the Chinese development of sounds absolutely excludes such a process. And this is the case in almost all—if not all the sound-equations adduced by Dr. Simon in the second part (p. 186 ff.) of his paper.

I do not think that it will recommend itself to abide any longer with a phonetical fact which wants only to be earnestly considered in order to be assented to and I especially decline to give for the moment any instances for refuting the opinion of Dr. Simon. I even daresay that I should not have taken notice of this newest publication of Dr. Simon, if I did not see in it a radical mistake of its author who will but have to correct in order to give his equations a fundament better in every case than what he succeeded to give them till now.

Max Walliser.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN TIBETAN

By

Max Walleser (Heidelberg)

In a paper about "Affirmative and interrogative sentences in Tibetan" I tried to show that the distinction of these in written Tibetan by the termination *o* and *am* is rather one of musical intonation than of sound-articulation. Now, I should like to prove that there is neither a differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses, in so far as the use of the particle *-de, -te, -ste* may be explained in a way that makes their distinction superfluous.

As to this particle, I. I. Schmidt in his "Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache" (1835), modelled after Csoma's Tibetan grammar, gives the following rules as to these particles (§41): "Die Partikeln *te, de* and *ste*, dem Participium Präsens oder der Verbalwurzel angehängt, bilden . . . das Gerundium Präs.: z. B. *hdug-ste* sitzend; in gleicher Weise mit dem Part. Prät. verbunden bilden sie das Gerundium Prät. also *smras-te* gesagt habend". Of course, we cannot accept this formulation, as it contains a number of conceptions and grammatical definitions which are in contradiction not only with the general use of language but also with logic. We may but refer to the presumption that with gerund we understand the use, specially observed in Latin, of the infinitive of a verb in secondary cases or joined with prepositions as e.g. *laborando* "by working," so that the gerund may be considered as the ablative (or instrumental) of the infinitive *laborare*. It may be that the case form of the ablative

corresponds in certain meanings to the Tibetan termination *-te* etc., but there are, besides, so many differences as to the syntactical employment that it appears quite impossible to make use of this designation of gerund for the Tibetan termination *-te* etc. as well.

On the other side, it is as inadvisable to call it participle, as with this term we join the faculty of underlying the nominal flexion corresponding to the substantive noun to which the participle refers. As with Tib. *te*, *ste*, *de* there is no possibility of declination, we feel quite unacceptable as in the case of gerund, to call it participle, but it is not manageable neither, to call the verbal form to which the particle *te* etc., is affixed, "participle," as is done by Schmidt l.c. who calls the verbal stem of *hdug ste*, viz., *hdug*, a participle. It is quite natural, and there ought not to be any necessity of discussion about this, that here like in many other cases we find in our grammar the use of grammatical terms and conceptions which are derived from the syntax of European languages, specially from the Latin one, without the legitimation to do so. As so many other uncultured languages among which the agglutinative are of a singular plainness and simplicity, the Tibetan is much too unartificial as to lend itself to an interpretation with the help of our grammatical categories. We must try to reduce the linguistic phenomena meeting us in this language to the plainest formula and then we shall see very soon, that neither the designation of "participle" nor that of "gerund" finds a place in the systematical arrangement of grammatical terms to be employed for this language.

It is now the same incongruity of Tibetan with our occidental language which prevents us from subscribing to Foucaux's formulation of the rule about the use of *te*, *ste* and *de* (*Grammaire de la langue tibétane*, 1858, § 73, p. 57)., On frome avec le participe présent ou le participe passé une espèce de locution absolue, en ajoutant à ces participes le signe de l'ablatif, de l'instrumental, du génitif ou du datif — On obtient le même

~~seps avec les particules~~ *te, de* et *ste*. Exemples: *smra ste* "disant", *smras te* "ayant dit." Here the formulation is much more convenient, as it avoids the use of the term "gerund". Notwithstanding, it appears to be objectionable in so far as it supposes the present stem *smra* and the perfect stem *smras* to be "participles", which they generally can become only by the addition of the "article" *pa* or *ba*, if we hold this change as sufficient for the designation of it as a participle. I think it will not only be better but the only possible way in order to get to a clearer understanding of the matter, if we entirely keep aloof from the conceptions of "gerund" and "participle" and restrain ourselves upon the plain and objective state of affairs in formulating the use of the particles with *de, te, ste*, thus that they are added respectively to the present or perfect stem of the verb which, according to the general use of the Tibetan language, has its place always at the end of the sentence.

After these observations about the theories of I. I. Schmidt and Foucaux we can be somewhat shorter as to the explanation given by Jaeschke in his Tibetan grammar § 41. Jaeschke has a much better understanding for the racial difference of the Tibetan language from our European ones and for the impossibility of employing the terms borrowed from the grammatical structure of the latter for designating syntactical relations found in the former. Thus Jaeschke knows quite well, that the formations with *de, se, ste* are neither gerunds nor participles and that it is but a kind of conventional designation helping us a little in the understanding of the meaning of those formations.

Thus he says (p. 55): "*te* (*de* etc.) . . . is added to the present root as well as to the perfect-root: *gtoñ ste* "giving", *btsoñ ste* "having given", and stands for all clauses beginning with *when, as, since, after* etc. Also in the spoken language of (Western) (Tibet), it is used most frequently".

The linguistical fact spoken about proves thus to be of a

very plain kind. We may say, the ending *te* etc. is added to the verbal form which always stands at the end of the sentence and is identical with the verbal stem in so far as there are not finite forms derived with the help of verbal terminations, personal ones or others. So, as to the formal appearance, there does not exist any difference between principal sentences and subordinate ones, and we are permitted to consider the particle *te* etc. with the same right as co-ordinating conjunction and as a subordinating one. But if this is the case, it will recommend itself much more, to consider them as co-ordinate ones, because we have no inducement to complicate things more than they are by themselves. We know that only those languages which are of the most developed kind are provided with both co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions, and there is of course no reason to attribute this predicate to a very poor and absolutely primitive language like the Tibetan one : syntactical distinctions which we know chiefly or exclusively from the Indo-European languages. We may add one more argument in favour of an explanation without subordinate sentences properly called. It seems that the meaning of a clause as of a subordinate one depends on the existence of conjunction at the beginning of it.¹

Now, if Tib. *te* etc. has its place not at the beginning of the seemingly subordinate clause, but at the end of it, it is evidently not a subordinating conjunction at all, and as there is no conjunction, there is no subordinate clause neither and we may be more sure about it, as all the grammars quoted above are in concordance while speaking of "gerunds" of "supines", and it is a special merit of Jaeschke's to have laid stress upon the statement that these forms are only "substitutes for most of those subordinate clauses which we are accustomed to introduce by conjunctions".

1 With the exception of conditional and indirectly interrogative clauses which are sometimes marked as such by a metathesis of the verb, e. g. in modern German, English, French etc.

The conclusion which we are draw from these facts is the following:

In so far as the particles *te*, *ste*, *de* are appended to verbal stems, they may formally be designated as a kind of "gerund." or "supine", but only if these particles can be explained in the same manner as the gerunds and supiness known to us from other languages, *vis.* as casual terminations. If this is not possible, we shall have to consider them as particles used in the sense of co-ordinating conjunctions, by protracting them from the end of the preceding clause to the beginning of the next one. There is also of course a slight alteration of the signification of the participle, in so far as it gets now the meaning of "then", "there" or a similar one. The chief difficulty seems to be now: is a clause—in our case the preceding one—to be considered as such a one, if there is no finite verb, but only the verbal stem—be it present, perfect or future—in its crude form? I think, we can answer to this question affirmatively, as this is thought quite sufficient in all the other kinds of clauses as well, and that thus we may confide to have found the right way in treating the problem as we have done.

Now, this fashion of seeing the matter would be much more satisfactory, if we succeeded to give the particles *te*, *ste*, *de* an etymological explanation which would correspond to the particular meaning implied in the one of a co-ordinate clause. And I think, indeed, we can risk an etymology without being obliged to take into account any factors not quite perspicuous to us.

A few words beforehand for making clear the etymological premisses which may help us to find out the original meaning of those particles.

We see also in other cases of a similar character an alternation of the initial consonants, *e. g.* in the beginning of the somewhat kindred particle *cin* which, according to the preceding con-

sonant, may be spelt (and pronounced *cin*, *shin* as well. Now, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which of these forms is the original one. One can presume that all these different forms may be equivalent in so far as the use of the one or the other depends exclusively on external circumstances (*viz.* the preceding sound), and if this particle *cin* etc.—as is really the case—can be found exclusively as a kind of suffix (and not as an independent word), we may even say, that is quite impossible to give one special form as the fundamental one, if we accidentally have not got a hint for choosing one of them as an appropriate one for etymological explanation, by reason of the similarity or identity with another word of the language, used in a similar meaning. Now, I do not think, that this be an easy thing in the case of *cin* etc., but among the three forms *te*, *ste*, *de*, there is at least one which is well known to us from its employment in the language, although the syntactical meaning does not seem at first sight to be quite the same. This form is *de*, the well known demonstrative pronoun, or rather demonstrative particle, for it always needs a particular complement—case-ending or other—to get its character of a demonstrative pronoun.

This latter circumstance may indicate to us that really we have to do here not with a pronoun at all, but with a demonstrative particle *de* which we can put on the same level with the temporal particle *da* in *da n* “now”. The alternation *de*; *da* may be proved by other examples, but of which, instantly, I do not know any one. But even if we must renounce to comparing *de* with *da*, it is sufficiently proved as a demonstrative particle of a similar meaning from the different composite forms of which it may be a component part. There are many cases—perhaps they form the majority of

all—were *de* may be considered directly as a preposition joined to the verbal stem in the meaning of a subject of the sentence *e. g.*, the sentence given by Jaeschke § 41 A 1 (p. 55): *phru gu chus khyer te chio* “the child by the water (was) carried, it (*de*) died”. It is true, there is one great difficulty with this way of viewing the matter, *viz.*, to explain how it comes that after vowels we have the form *ste* and not *de* (*e. g.*, in the sentence: “*rgyal po ci ste rgyal sras kyis rgyal sa bzun no*”). But we may reckon here with the use of the suffix—*s*, added to the stem of verbs (in our example to *ci* so that it becomes *gis*) to designate the preterit (*e. g.*, *skyes* from *skye*), and thus it would be quite natural that always there is a consonant *s* before the particle *te*, melting with the latter to *ste* after verbal stems terminating in a vowel.

Now, this explanation of the syntactical use of *te*, *ste*, *de* seems to agree exactly with the modern use of the syllable *de* in conjunction with the terminations *nan*, *mkhan*, *pa* or *ba* added to the root. Ch. Bell, in his “Grammar of colloquial Tibetan” (sec. ed. 1918) treats about this employment of *de* in the 6th chapter § 19 (p. 60) under the designation of “agentive participle” and gives among others the following example: “*khas sa hgro nan (mkhan) bay chen de*” “The messenger who went yesterday”, or: “*kas sa yi ge gton nan (mkhan) mi de*”, “The man who sent the letter yesterday”, or “*khas sa btan nahi (bahi) yi ge de*”, “The letter which was sent yesterday”. Of course, these examples are not to be considered as syntactically quite equivalent. Here there is the genitive ending *bahi* before the noun in the sense of an attribute, as in the last example, we may think at once that the conjunction *de* is nothing but a postponed demonstrative pronoun by which the preceding noun is taken up again. But this may be the case in the other sentences as well, and then the characterisation by “agentive participle” is also cor-

rect. But the general use in the old written, literary language appears to have been larger, in so far as the participle *de* (or *te*, *sta* according to sandhi rules) referred not to a single noun, but to the whole sentence. With other words: the particle *de* etc. was not used in its general meaning of a demonstrative pronoun, but rather in that of a particle of time: "then", or of locality: "there". So it may be regarded as a conjunction for co-ordinate sentences generally, but one which shifted to the use of a subordinating conjunction with the power to change the *preceding* sentences into a subordinate one, and thus we may acquiesce in acknowledging that the general use of former grammars which inclined to call *te*, *de* etc. a subordinative conjunction, was quite legitimate.

So we may recapitulate what we have said in the preceding pages in the following manner. We have got to distinguish a double use of *de* etc., 1) the one as a demonstrative pronoun, visible better in the modern use of it for forming the "agentive participle", as noted by Ch. Bell, and 2) the one as a demonstrative particle with the meaning of "then" or "there" which is to be considered as a co-ordinating conjunction, but shifting to the use of a postponed subordinative conjunction. How this double use of *de* is to be explained or brought upon one line, remains still open and will require some more research, and it will be appropriate, perhaps, to found it upon a study of the modern dialects of Tibet. There is no much probability, that the modern translations of the Bible will shed any more light upon this question as they are modelled chiefly after the old Buddhist translations of Indian texts—as we have shown in a former paper. And with the dialects there is the difficulty that we cannot always and everywhere state the identity of the forms current to-day with forms used in the literary

language. Notwithstanding we may try to show, to which results such a comparing study will lead.

In the "General Introduction" to Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman family. Part I. p. 28 we read: "Another common suffix is *chas* in Balti. Other suffixes of the same kind are *mkhan*, *te*, *ching*, *gix*, etc. . . . *Te* is used after the consonants *n*, *r*, *l* and *s*. After *d* it is replaced by *de*, and after *g*, *ng*, *b*, *m*, and vowels by *ste*. It is the usual suffix of the conjunctive participle; thus *btang-ste*, "having given".

What is of most interest for us amongst all this is the information about the use of *te*, corresponding as for the rest exactly with what is said in the grammars of classical Tibetan. As there is no reference at all here to the use in dialects and especially also to the question, whether it exists in these, although in somewhat altered form, we are referred to hypotheses rather than to well-founded facts in quoting instances from the dialectical patterns given in the volume. Only with this restriction it is possible at all to communicate some examples for the use of *de*, *te*, etc., and to deduce some conclusions from them as to the syntactical use of the rather doubtful corresponding forms.

Thus it is absolutely unintelligible whether we can combine the classical termination *te*, *de* etc, with the one given in the grammatical remarks about the dialect of Balti (l. c. p. 37): "Conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffix *e* to the present or past base. Thus, *ser-re*, saying; *khur-re*, taking, *ong-s-e*, having come; *hhyong-s-e*; having brought; *be ya-s-e*, doing."

I do not think that this termination, consisting only of the vocalic epenthese *-e* which we may consider as a short vowel-noise corresponding to the *-o* terminating principal

clauses stands in any direct relation to the classical termination *te*, *de* etc. I should rather think that we have to seek for an explanation on exactly the same lines as was given by me for the phenomenon just mentioned of final *-o*. Here, the two sentences which in the Introduction just quoted are considered as subordinate and principal, are evidently put together without any conjunction at all, the terminating *-e* (*-e, a*) being only the sign for elevating the intonation and thus indicating (*viz.*, by musical pitch) the introduction of the next sentences which therewith is ranged as a principal one. So, all this would be considered according to the rules laid down for the use of terminating *-o* in my paper cited above.

I only want to give one or two examples for the use of this *e* in Balti, sufficient to show the absolute analogy with the use of *-o*: l. c. p. 39: . . . *khur-sē* (carrying) . . . *bes b' yas* (way made.)

. . . *so sē* (living) . . . *skang-at-pa* (filled.)

. . . *ong-sē* (having come) . . . *zers* (said).

. . . *song-sē* (having gone) . . . *ser-uk* (shall say.)

If we go on now to the dialect of Purik, being the link between Balti and Ladakhi, we find a very similar use. There are the following remarks about it in the short grammar that precedes the specimens: "Adverbial and conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffixes *se* and *te*; thus, *shi se*, "dying", *that-te* "gladly". *E* is sometimes used in the same way. Thus, *ser-re*, "saying". Such forms are occasionally also used as verbal nouns. Thus, *ser-sē-nā*, "from saying, having said" *logh-s-ā-nā*, "having returned" . . . "

This use may be illustrated by the following examples (l. c. f. 47.):

... *sgo-sə* ... *tang-s* "(having divided ... (he) gave".

... *b^o yas-sə* ... *druls*, "having done ... (he) went".

If we come now to the dialect of Ladakh, we find in the grammatical remarks, given after Mr. Franck's Ladakhī grammar, the following rule relative to the suffix *-te* (p. 58): "Conjunctive participles are formed by adding the suffix *-te* to the present or past base; thus, *zer-te*, "saying"; *song-s-te*, "having gone". There are for it the following instances (p. 62):

khur-ste (taking with him) ... *langs-song* (he started); *tshar-te* (finishing) ... *yong s te* (having arrived) ... *song* (he went);

Yong-s-te (having come) ... *zer-pa* (he said).

Thus we may say as to the use in Ladakhī, that sentences are joined to one another in a somewhat narrower or more intimate fashion by terminating the first by *-e* which evidently here also denotes only the rising of the musical accent.

Going on, we find that in the rather unimportant dialect of Lahul about which only scanty information is given, the usual suffix of the verbal noun is *che*. But this has evidently nothing to do with the conjunctive particle *de*, *te* ... or *e*, being related rather to the classical *cin*. There is neither a specimen of the dialect to be used confidently.

Now, as to the Central dialect which is the *lingua Franca* of Tibet and not exclusively the local dialect of Lha-sa, we may not expect at all any remarkable difference from the classical language. Indeed, we find here the use of *ste* exactly as in the texts of the *bKah-hgyur* or *bsTan-hgyur*. Cf. f. 76: "Conjunctive participles are formed by adding case-suffixes to the base or by means of special suffixes such as *de* and *te*, *ching* and *shi*"

As to the remaining dialects of this group, especially those of Spiti (l. c. p. 83) and Nyamkat (p. 86), the informa-

tion given is rather scanty. There is scarcely anything said about them, that was not remarked as yet is reference to the preceding ones. The other Tibeto-Himalayan dialects treated on p. 187 ff., are too distinct from the models of classical Tibetan as to permit any comparison.

If, finally, we try to draw the conclusions from these notes about the southern Tibetan dialects, they may be resumed as follows:

Evidently there were two kinds of using conjunctive particles, joined to the verbal form which finishes—terminates, the former clause: either a syllable derived from the old particle *de, te, ste* was affixed to it, or merely the vowel *e* (*e, g.*, in the dialect of Balti) which is to be considered as a designation for the elevated intonation that is to announce the new sentence to which the preceding one is the introduction. This *e* would thus correspond to the *o* used at the end of principal clauses and joined to the last word by doubling its consonant. I hope I have sufficiently shown in a former paper, that this *o* means the lowering of the musical intonation; in the same manner terminating *e* would express the rising of intonation at the end of the secondary sentence.

On the other hand, the particle *-te* etc., used in the dialects of Ladakh, Spiti etc., as well as in the Central dialect, may be derived from an original *de, viz.*, a kind of demonstrative particle, referring either to the whole preceding sentence, or, as is the general use in modern colloquial Tibetan (as noted by Ch. Bell), to the subject of this sentence. In the former case we may consider it as a kind of postponed subordinating conjunction in the latter as an “agentive participle”, as such it has been characterised by Ch. Bell in his Grammar of colloquial Tibetan.

Of course, the question arises now whether it would not be possible to give for these two linguistical phenomena a common explanation, either by considering the one of them as the cause of the other, or by deriving them from a common source. I think we can proceed from either as being the original construction.

Firstly, we may suppose that in the same way, as the syllable *-o* or rather the expiring vowel-sound on a very pronounced deep pitch, was used for designating the end of the whole sentence, the syllable *e*, as the corresponding high vowel-noise being employed for severing the preceding "subordinate" clause (but which did not differ as to the form from a "principal" one, except the finishing *e*) from the subsequent "principal" one. This state of things appears clearly in Balti like *zer-re*, *kur-re* (Ling. Survey, III, 1, p. 37), but it exists most probably also in forms which may be derived from the past participle ending in *-s*, e, g. *ong-s-e*, "having come": *khyong s-e*, "having brought"; *beyā-s-e*, "doing". If we wish to reduce the forms terminating in *te*, *-ste*, *-de* as well to this pure vocalic noise at the end of "subordinate" clauses, we are to presume that this process took its origin from such verbal stems which had a dental explosive as termination. We know from the oldest sources of Tibetan script that this terminating *d* was much more repanded in Tibetan than appears in modern writing, and that especially the stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n* in most cases had a *d* at the end.*

*In native Tib grammar it is called *da-drag*. Cf. Jaeschke, Tibetan grammar 3rd ed (p. 45 § 34), p. 147; Laufer. Bird divination among the Tibetans (Toung Tao, 1914, p. 56 ff.); Schubert, Tib. National grammatik, Berlin, vol. 31, 32) I. V. 13 ff.—For the phonetic value of *d* as final consonent see Karlgren, Problems in archaic Chinese, I. R. A. S. 1928, p. 789 ff.

Here quite naturally the termination appeared as *de* or *te*, which was later on considered and treated as an independent suffix in so far as it could be added to every verbal stem.

On the other side we may take our departure from the demonstrative *de* as well, which even in modern times has been made use of again in forming the "agentive participle" (Ch. Bell). It is true that this construction is somewhat more difficult to be understood in such cases where there is not a single word, *vis.* the subject of the succeeding principal sentence, brought into relation with the preceding "subordinate" sentence; but where we feel rather induced to consider the preceding sentence as an absolute participle, corresponding to the Latin *ablativus absolutus*, the Greek *genitivus absolutus* etc. But from all these Indo-European constructions the Tibetan would differ in so far as there is no case ending at all, designating the syntactical dependency of the preceding sentence. In opposition to them, in Tibetan the dependence is expressed only by raising the intonation towards the end of the preceding sentence which thus keeps in a certain degree its character of a principal sentence, formally at least. But about all this we have spoken in the first part of this paper to which it may be sufficient to refer.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KIRTIŁATĀ

By

BABURAM SAKSENA.

1. *Kirtilatā* of Vidyāpati, the well known poet of Mithilā, is one of his earliest works: it was written about 1360 A. D. The author calls the language of the poem, *avahatṭhā* (p. 6).¹

It thus represents the Apabhraṃśa of the 14th century. Vidyāpati terms the language *desila baanā* 'country-speech' also in the same breath and hence it appears that the language represents the speech of the times—particularly of the cultured classes. The vocabulary represents all the three elements—*tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *Deśi*. *Tatsama* forms are very often resorted to. The first five stanzas of the introduction as well as the closing stanzas of every chapter are in Sanskrit entirely. While writing prose the author several times lapses into Sanskrit of an ornate classical style, for instance:

- p. 12 *atha gadya . . . pavitra deva.*
- p. 14 *prabala śatru jayalakṣmī.*
- p. 18 *hṛdaya giri kaṇḍarā nidrāṇa pitṛvairi kaśari.*
- p. 20 *vismṛtasvāmiśoka (hu) kuṭibārāja nīticatura (hu).*
- p. 36 *mānayjana (ka) lajjāvalambita mukhacandrikā kuaṭṭi kaṭāksachaṭā kandarpa śara śrēṇi.*

This clearly shows that the language of the cultured class incorporated words from the ever-present literary language *vis.* Sanskrit just as literary Hindi does to-day or literary Urdu does from Persian. The Pandits of Mithilā have always been an orthodox set and have kept in close touch of Sanskrit literature and thus at every stage they could freely borrow from the parent

1. The references are to the pages of *Kirtilatā*, edited by the writer of this monograph and published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. The text has been collated from two manuscripts and from Har Prasad Shastri's Bengali edition, and is accompanied by a Hindi translation and an introduction. The edition was taken in hand at the suggestion of Sir George Grierson.

language. Even to-day, the Pandits' maithili differs from that of the illiterate country-man in this particularity to a considerable extent.

The *tadbhava* words have a great variety of forms, the same words may represent several stages of its development, *e.g.* *brāhmaṇa* : *bāmbhaṇa* p. 32, *bābhana*, p. 44. This is explicable by the fact that the same word may have been taken as a loan from Sanskrit at various stages.

Deśi words are very few. *Chailla* appears earlier in Prakrit works (*e.g.*, in *Karpūramañjarī*); I have noticed in this text *dhāgaḍa*, p. 90 and *ruṇḍa*, p. 90.

2. Besides the above the text contains a large number of loan-words from Persian and Arabic. The poem gives a detailed description of *Jaunāpur* (modern Jaunpur), the seat of a Muslim principality. The following is the list:

Surtāna, p. 10, (*Surutāna* p. 44), *pāṭisāha*, p. 14, 22, *turukka*, (*turukkā*, p. 38, *turuka*, p. 40, 44, *tuluka*, p. 66, 70, *turukīni*, p. 42) *sāha*, p. 36, *Kammāna*, p. 38, (*kamāna*, p. 90), *maijalla*, p. 40, *mira*, p. 40, *vallia*, p. 40, *saillāra*, p. 40, *sarāba*, p. 40, *kbāra*, p. 40, *maḥadama*, p. 42, *matarupha*, p. 42, *carakha*, p. 42, *saada*, p. 42, *īvilaha*, p. 42, *daravesa*, p. 42, *makhadūma*, p. 42, 80, *hukuma*, p. 42, *bāga*, p. 42, *misimila*, p. 42, 90, *nīmāja*, p. 44, *masīda*, p. 40, 44, *gālīma*, p. 46, (*darabāra*, p. 46 (*darabāla*, p. 50), *mahala*, p. 46, *dārigaha*, p. 50, *nīmājagaha*, p. 50, *khoāragaha*, p. 50, *khōramagaha*, p. 50, *davāla*, p. 50, *dākhōla*, p. 52, *ujjira*, p. 56, *khodālamba*, p. 58, *pāpōsa*, p. 58, *pharamāna*, p. 58, *sēra*, p. 58, *demāna*, p. 62, *gaddavara*, p. 62, *īkurubaka*, p. 62, *adapa*, p. 62, *takata*, p. 98, (*takatāna*, p. 64), *tabala*, p. 66, *malika*, p. 110 (*manika*, p. 80), *rāba*, p. 80, *bakhata*, p. 80, *danēja*, p. 80, *thēgha*, p. 82, *nisāna*, p. 84, *tajāna*, p. 84, *bāga*, p. 84, *cābuka*, p. 88, *tarakasa*, p. 88, *phauda*, p. 88, *magōla*, p. 90, *khundakāra*, p. 90, *bagala*, p. 90, *banda*, p. 90, *sikāra*, p. 98, *mahamada*, p. 100, *sarama*, p. 102, *gandā*, p. 38, *bandā*, p. 38, *hūja*, p. 38, 42, *tabellā*, p. 38, *dokkāpadārā*, p. 38, *khīsā*, p. 38, *mōja*, p. 40,

khōjā, p. 40; 42, kalīmā, p. 42; kasidā, p. 40; kitābā, p. 40; kababā, p. 40, paedā, p. 40, 80, nevalā, p. 42, dvāā, p. 42, bādī, p. 38, rainā, p. 68, bajārī, p. 38, karībī, p. 40, bājū, p. 38, peājū, p. 38 (piājū, p. 42) sarāfā, p. 38, kalāmā, p. 40, khodāe, p. 40, gulāmō, p. 38, (gulāmā, p. 96) salāmo, p. 38, tokhāra-hī, p. 40, rōjā, p. 42, mulukkā, p. 46, umāra, p. 46, (ūmārā), kādī, p. 80, menāne, p. 50, haudde, p. 96, bajārī, p. 38, khāsa, p. 50, kharāba, p. 40, sadara, p. 50, teji, tājī, p. 84, 88, kharīde, p. 38, abē bē, p. 38.

These words take up the terminations like Sanskritic words; the nearest sounds have been substituted for such foreign sounds as do not exist in the language. There are certain modifications which are explicable only by the hypothesis of hesitation and uncertainty of the correct pronunciation.¹

3. The sounds do not need a separate treatment as the history of I. A. sounds is regular in this text. The following points, however, may be noted:—

(a) Vowels—these are generally lengthened at the end of a foot for the sake of metre and rhyme and sometimes even in the middle (*e. g.*, phūra, p. 76). But the lengthening is inexplicable on this ground in several cases (dīgantara, p. 70, cf. diggantara, p. 94, antarikkha, p. 106, cf. antarikkha, p. 110, thira, p. 92, cf. thira p. 110). In one instance even the quality of the vowel has been changed for rhyme (ī becomes ō—nōra for nīra in order to rhyme with bōhra, p. 22). In kumara, p. 24, and rājā, p. 24, the shortening of the vowels (kumāra and rājā) is not explicable. ai and au in a few cases appear written as diphthongs but are really simple vowels āi āū.

(b) Initial y was pronounced as j as is clear from its appearance in two places where j was expected (yanāvañō, p. 4, yujjhayi, p. 90, cf. jujjha, p. 84) -y (in place of an elided -k-).

1. For a detailed treatment of foreign sounds see the writer's paper: 'Persian loan-words in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās', Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I, pp. 63-74.

is retained in some cases as is clear from its representation by *e* (*sakala* > *saala*, p. 50, *nagara* > *nayara*, p. 16, cf. *naara*, p. 26) as medial *-ya* and *-e* had no distinction in pronunciation (*payadā*, p. 40). *r* and *l* are confounded in several words (*ghōlā*, p. 24, 30, *ghōrā* p. 44, cf. *ghōdā*, p. 68, *sambala*, p. 24, *sambara*, p. 70); *l*, however, has an upper hand: *palai*, *pali*, p. 66 (cf. Hin. *paṛ*- Awadhī *par*-), *jōli* (cf. Aw. *jōri*), p. 88, *pakali*, p. 100 (cf. Awadhī *pakari*), *davali* p. 46 (Aw. *dauri*). The text has *v* abundantly, but this simply is used for *b* in most instances (*e.g.* *vambhāna*, p. 32).

(c) nasals—no distinction appears to have been made between *ṇ* and *n*, the latter being the pronounced nasal (*suana*, p. 4. *suana*, p. 32) Old *-ṇṇ-* was pronounced as *-ṇḍ-* as is clear from *ākandana*, p. 6, *punḍu*, p. 8, *senḍu*, p. 64. *ṇ* represents *y* initially and mere nasalisation medially (*ṇaṇṇa*, p. 26, *kahaṇṇa*, p. 8).

n represents *l* in *maṇika*, p. 80 and *nahia*, p. 48 and *l* represents *n* in *lasūlā*, p. 38 and *ilāmē*, p. 48. *-m-* is represented by *-v-* > *-b-* generally, but the reverse process is found in *apāmana*, p. 34 (<*apāvana* through *apāvāna*). In *sambhāra*, p. 28, (<*sambhāra* : *sābhāra*), *m* possibly represents merely nasalisation. In *cānda*, p. 34, *rāṇka*, p. 50, *cāndana*, p. 68 and *aṅga*, p. 68, (cf. *āga*) the nasal was very weak and was coming towards nasalisation merely. The text is very fond of nasalisation and in most cases there is no plausible reason for it, *e.g.* *amiṇa*, p. 56 for *amia*, *pāṭa*, p. 6 for *pāua*; *piṇa*, p. 16, *ūpāe*, p. 10, *ūmāra*, p. 60, *kāja*, p. 68, *turukkā*, p. 38, *jāniṇa*, p. 52, *bissamiṇa*, p. 52.

(d) sibilants *-ṣ* appears in many instances but its pronunciation was *kh* as is clear from the following instances *khāna*, p. 40, *sāna*, p. 46, *susa*, p. 56, *sanē*, p. 68). It was possibly pronounced *ṣ* (or *s* ?) when a velar consonant was in proximity *e.g.* *ahiseka*, p. 112 (cf. modern pronunciation of *ṣaṣṭhī* as *khaṣṭhī*). The regular sibilant was *s*.

(e) aspiration—The absence of aspiration in *nakata*, p. 42 (<*nakeatra*, modern *nakhata*) and its presence in *bipatha*, p. 70 (<*vipatti*) and *pacchūsa*, p. 56 (<*pratyūsa*) is not easy to account

for. At some places the orthography doubles the same aspirated consonant (*e.g.* **uththi**, p. 50), but it represents a combination of the unaspirated and the aspirated form. The consonant **-h-** comes up in several instances in grammatical forms and is inexplicable, *e.g.* in the past tense of the verbal forms.

(f) mutes—The absence of voice in **ṭhaka**, p. 16 (modern **ṭhaga** Skt. **sthag-**) is not easy to understand. The pronunciation **-dh-** appears to have been unstable (**caḍhāvai**, p. 44, **caḍi**, p. 100, **cahri** p. 98).

(g) The following instances of **sandhi** have been noted: **kikkariaū**, p. 70, **kikkariā**, p. 80, **āevaja**, p. 30, **jajjamia**, p. 10.

In the following pages a detailed grammar of the language is given.

NOUNS.

§4. Bases end in **-a**, **-ā**, **-i**, **-ī**, **-u**, and **-ū**.

By far the largest number is that of **-a** bases which are about 1700 (about 1400 without terminations and about 300 with terminations). The number of **ā** bases is 225, of **-i** 155, of **-ī** 80, of **-u** 45 and of **-ū** 7².

(a) Bases in **-a** represent either old bases in **-a** (*e.g.* **hīaa**, p. 6, Skt. **hr̥daya** 'heart', **suaṇa** p. 4: **sujana** 'a good man', **chailla**, p. 4: Pkt. **chailla** 'clever'), or old bases in **-ā** (*e.g.* **lāja** p. 92: Skt. **lajjā** 'shame', **seva** p. 8: Skt. **sevā** 'service') or are loan-words from Persian-Arabic (*e.g.* **kammāṇa** p. 38: Pers. **kamān** 'bow', **nimāja** p. 44: Ar. **namāz** 'prayer'). It is certain that the final **-a** (after consonants) was not pronounced, it appears here because the script does not distinguish between a consonant plus **-a** and a mere consonant in the final position.

3. For the purposes of statistics in this monograph, if a noun occurs more than once it has been taken to be as many nouns, *e.g.* if **kaṭaka** 'army' occurs as **kaṭaka** twice, as **kaṭakaū** twice and as **kaṭake** once, it will count as five nouns.

(b) Bases in -ā are either the ancient -ā bases (e.g. *vāśā* p. 31: Skt. *vāśyā* 'prostitute', *rajā* p. 24: Skt. *rajā* 'king', or the elongated forms of ancient -a bases (e.g. *vaanā* p. 6: Skt. *vacana* -ka 'speech' *vallahā* p. 26: Skt. *vallabha* -ka 'dear one', *bōlā* p. 94: Pkt. *bōla* - 'word'), or are loanwords from Persian ending in -ā, -ah and a consonant, (e.g. *dvāā* p. 42: *dw'ā* 'blessing': *ūmārā* p. 60, *umrā* 'noblemen'; *kujā* p. 38: *kūzah* 'cup', *khojā* p. 42: *khwa:jah* 'an honourableman'; *kiteba* p. 40: *kitab* - 'book'. *turukā* p. 44: *turk* 'Turk'). Of about 225 bases ending in ā, 80 are old -ā bases, and 16 loan words from Persian. The rest are the elongated forms of -a bases. Some of these have short forms also, e.g. *gholā*, p. 52 and *ghōla*, p. 24.

(c) Bases in -ī either represent old -i, -ī, -in bases (e.g. *satti* p. 6: *Śakti* 'strength', *vijāvai* p. 4: *vidyāpati*, *meini* p. 12: *mēdinī* 'earth', *hāthi* p. 30: *hastin* 'elephant') or are Persian bases in -ī or a consonant (e.g. *bādī* p. 33: *bādī* 'maid', *raiati* p. 63: *ra'yat* 'subjects'). Besides *jai* p. 48 represents Skt. *jaya* 'victory', *gāi* p. 44 represents Skt. *gā* 'cow'. The actual Sanskrit from *gō* occurs on p. 34. Except half a dozen nouns mentioned above, all the bases in -ī are representatives of Sanskrit -ī, and ī- and -in nouns.

(d) Bases in -ī represent old -ī (e.g. *lacchī*, p. 26, *meini*, p. 106: *mēdinī* 'Earth'), -i (*pātī*, p. 24: *pañkti* through Skt. *pantī* 'line', *bhumī*, p. 96: *bhumi* through Pkt. *bhūmī* 'Earth'), -ikā (*kāhānī*, p. 8: **kathānikā* 'story', *piarī*, p. 20: *priyakārikā* 'beloved') and -ia bases (*mantī*, p. 20: *mantrin* 'minister'). As a result we have both short and long forms of a few nouns, *manti*: *mantī*, *mēni*: *mēinī*. Besides these, we have a few loan-words from Persian viz. *karibī* p. 40 'paucity': *garibī*, *bādī* p. 63 'maid', *kādī* p. 80: *qāzī* 'judge' *turukinī* p. 42 is a feminine form of the loan-word.

(e) Bases in -u represent old -u (e.g. *sattu*, p. 8: *śatru* 'enemy', *riū*, p. 12: *ripu* 'enemy', *pahu*, p. 56: *prabhu* 'master'). In *bhāhu*, p. 112 we find a representation of -ū base (*bhrātrvadhu* 'younger brother's wife') and in *gōru*, p. 90, -u represents -ūpa > -ūa > -u.

(f) Bases in -ñ are only elongated -u bases *pasū*, p. 6 'cattle', *bīndu* p. 42 <*sindhu* 'Hindu' (aspiration lost by Persianisation) *sattū* p. 104. There is one Persian loan-word *bajū*, p. 38: *bāzū* 'side'.

(g) One noun *bhuavai*, p. 8 is found in -ai but it represents only -āi. There is one noun *mātr*, p. 18 which is pure Sanskrit. A few nouns are found in -e but the sound -e in them represents -ya of Sanskrit (e.g. *vae*, p. 92: *vyaya* 'expense') or of the Prakrits (e.g. *rāe*, p. 10: *rāyā* 'king' *loe*, p. 43: *lōka* > *lōya* 'people') or in one case of Persian (*khodāe*, p. 40: *khodāyā* 'God').

CASE-TERMINATIONS.

5. Out of about 2200 nouns used in the text, only a little over than 300 appear with terminations. These are :—

-ṃ, -ēna, ehi (-ēhi), -ānā, -āñī, -ha, hi (-hī), -nhi (-nha) -u, -o, -ānañō, -e (ē) and -hu.

(a) Only one instance of -ṃ (*rōlam*, p. 106 'uproar') is found and it is a Prakritism. (b) So also are 4 instances of -ēna (*purisattanēna*, 'by valour' *jamma-mattana* 'by mere birth' and *jaladānēna* 'by gift of water' all in one stanza p. 6 and *gamanēna* 'by going' p. 94) and (c) 4 of -ehi (*khaggēhi* 'with swords', p. 104, *parakkamehi* 'with feats of valour' p. 84, *cāmarēhi* 'with chowries', p. 84, *pakkharehi* 'with coverings', p. 84) (d) There is only one instance of -ānā (*nāmānā* 'names', p. 104) and it serves as accusative plural. Does it represent the ancient nominative plural of masculine -an bases? (e) *kaṭakañī* 'armies', p. 76, p. 94 is found twice and represents -āni ending. It is interesting to note that -n- is represented here as -ñ- which is merely nasalisation, while it survives intact in *turukānañe* (see infra (h)). (f) There are 11 instances of -ha termination all after -a bases (e.g., *jujjaha* 'of the battle', p. 110, *dhuttaha* 'of the wicked person', p. 34, *rāaha* 'of the king', p. 22). Once -ha has been lengthened to -hā (*devuhā* 'of the gods', p. 4). This -ha represents Skt. -sya > -sa > -sa. In all the eleven instances it has a genitive sense.

(g) There are 44 instances of **-hi** (**-hī**). Of these 29 have a locative sense (*e. g.*, **kī saṁsārahi sara** 'what is the essence in the world', p. 6, **tatthi doārahi paīa** 'there on the door were found', p. 48), 6 accusative (*e. g.*, **sattuhi mitta kae** 'having made an enemy a friend', p. 18), 7 instrumental (*e. g.*, **pae bhārahi** 'by the weight of the feet', p. 60) and 2 genitive (**rāyagharahi kā pubba kheta** 'the former field of Rājaghara', p. 102, **vaisyāhi karō sukha** 'the happiness of those courtezans', p. 34). Except in the two instances last mentioned it is every-where found without postpositions. It is used in the singular except in one instance cited above. I should connect this with the **-smin** termination of Sanskrit.¹ The preponderating locative use of this case establishes that. The beginnings of the use of this case as a general oblique are found here. In a later Awadhī text (**Tulsidās-Rāmāyan**) this case is found as a very general oblique case.

Of the 44 instances of this case, 2 are of **-u** nouns 3 of **-ā** nouns and the rest of **-a** nouns.

(h) There are 13 instances of **-nhi** (12 after **-a** nouns and 1 after **-ā** noun) and 1 of **-nha**. Of these 11 have a genitive sense—9 with postpositions and 2 without them (*e. g.*, **mahajanhi karō bōlantā** 'at the utterance of great men' p. 18, **arirāanha lacchia chōli le** 'seizes the glory of the enemy-kings', p. 86). 1 accusative (**gō bōli gamāranhi chāḍa** 'leave the country-people when they cry for protection', p. 36) and 2 agentive (**tabbē mantinha kiau baththāva** 'then a suggestion was made by the counsellors', p. 56, **maharāanhi mallikē cappiliū** 'the malik was overcome by the mahārājā', p. 112). This case is based on the ancient genitive; the addition of **-hi** is possibly on the analogy of the singular in order to give a distinctive body to the case.²

1. I prefer the derivation of this case from **-smin** to **-dhi** (*vide* Chatterji: Origin and Development of Bengali, 499).

2. For detailed arguments for this sec. I. A. LII, 1923, p. 76 where I discussed the derivation of the same case in **Tulsidās**.

(i) There are 12 instances of **-u** termination, 11 after **-a** nouns and 1 after **-a** noun (**kalāu** 'in the art or of the art', p. 4). Of the 11 instances after **-a** bases, all except three have a nominative or accusative sense (*e. g.*, **tabahu piāju piāju pai** 'even then only calls onion, onion' p. 42, **jasu patthāvē puṇḍu** 'at the mention of which merit (accrues)', p. 8). In the three instances where the **-u** ending gives a genitive sense (**muhu bbitara** 'in the (middle of) mouth', p. 42, **seṇḍu saṅkha** 'the number of the army', p. 64, **mahāmāsu khaṇḍo** 'the piece of human flesh', p. 106) it has been used like **-a** base in compounding. It should be noted that in two cases **seṇḍu**, and **rāu** the **-u** ending has come up after an **-ā** base reduced to **-a**, **sēnā > sennā > senna > seṇḍa**: **seṇḍu**, **rājā > rāā > rāa**: **rāu**. The **-a** forms of these words (**senna** and **rāa**) are attested by this very text. This **-u** ending is the ancient **-ō -aḥ** of the Nominative singular.

Note.—In all the eleven instances **-u** comes as a substitute for final **-a** (**māsu** and not **māsau**).

(j) There are 33 instances of **-ō** ending, 9 added after final **-a** and 24 substituted for it. This is the old Nominative singular ending coming after the ordinary or the elongated (**-ka**) base. The **-o** is sometimes short and sometimes long. The sense is everywhere nominative or accusative (*e. g.*, **jahā jāia jehe gāño, bhogāi rajā ka baḍḍi nāño** 'whereever to whichever village they went, there was great fame of King **Bhōgeśvara**' p. 24) except in the following instances:

mahāuō ka 'akusa 'the goad of the elephant-keeper', p. 82, **diggantara rāā sevō āā** 'the kings from all the other quarters came for service, p. 94,

pāo pahāre puhuvi kappa 'the Earth trembled at the stroke of the foot', p. 102.

calia takatāna suratāna ibarāhimao 'the coaches of Sultan Ibrahim moved', p. 64.

In these instances the **-ō** ending has lost its force of the

Nom.—accusative and has been used as an ordinary base. We also find five instances where a noun with this ending has been used in the plural (*kumārō* 'princes,' p. 38, *kumārāō*, p. 80, *dvarāō* 'doors,' p. 42, *gulāmō* 'slaves,' p. 38, *salāmō* 'greetings,' p. 38).

(k) There is one instance (*Turukāpaño* of the Turks', p. 38) of *-āpaño* ending (based on ancient *-ānām*).

(l) Of 191 instances of *-e* (*-ē*) ending, 150 are in *-e* and 41 in *-ē*. Of these 11 is after-*i* base *pūhaviē* 'of the Earth', p. 46) and in this case is the representative of the Prakrit oblique ending *-ē* after feminine bases. Three are after *-ā* bases (*tulanāñi* 'by comparison,' p. 14), *majjāñe* 'by marrow,' p. 106, *vidhātāñe* 'by the Creator,' p. 14) of which the first two are oblique) *-ē* (Pkt. fm.) and one is instrumental on the model of *-a* bases. The rest are with *-a* bases. The largest number indicates an instrumental sense (65 *-e* and 27 *-ē*), e.g., *ruñe* 'by beauty,' p. 48, *paa bhare* 'by the weight of the foot,' p. 46, *bhare*, p. 86 next comes locative (41 *-e* and 4 *-ē*), e.g. *maggē* 'on the way,' p. 104 *meñāñe* 'in the middle,' p. 50, *māthe* 'on the head' p. 63), 30 are with a nominative sense (27 *-e*, 4 *-ē*), 13 accusative (10 *-e*, 3 *-ē*) and 6 (*e*) denote a genitive sense, (e.g. *pattāpe cinhe* 'signs of glory,' p. 94). Under Nominative 7 e.g. *rāa puttē maṇḍiā* 'the princes adorned', p. 48, *kācalē kacalē nayanō* 'bewitching eyes', p. 86, *phaude* 'armies' p. 96) and under accusative 2 (*mahala majedē janantā* 'knowing the joys of the palace', p. 46, *nahia ilāmē* 'having obtained rewards', p. 48) denote a plural number. Under Nominative and accusative 24 *-e* endings are merely *-ya*, representing a medial consonant which has been lost or representing Sanskrit or Prakrit *-ya* (see supra §3).

The instrumental ending is surely ancient *-āna* (*-āpa*, and the locative ancient *-ā*. Under nominative and accusative as well as genitive in the singular there is possibly māgadhī Nominative singular *-e*. In the plural, there appear to be the traces of the pronominal nominative *-ā* extended to the nominative as well.

Note.—In three words *raṇi* ‘in battling’, p. 64, *lōi* ‘in the world’, p. 74, *mamattayai* ‘by mother’s love’, p. 20) the *-ā* termination appears as *-i* which regularly alternates with *-ā*.

(m) On page 20, we find three instances of plural vocative in *-hu* (*lōgahu*, *-śokahu*, *-caturahu*). This can be explained by the word *hō* uttered with the name called.

Note.—The following particles for calling people have been used in this text:—

arē arē, p. 20, *ahaha*, p. 70, *ahō ahō*, p. 50, *abē bē*, p. 40.

ADJECTIVES.

6. In this text we find about four hundred adjectives. A few of these have been used as nouns, the latter being understood, *e.g.* *bhuleo badḍeo cētana* ‘even the great (men) lost consciousness; p. 26. Sub-divided the adjectives fall under four heads :

of quality 181

of quantity 28

of number 128 and

Pronominal 61

(The pronominal adjectives will be treated under Pronouns). By far most of the adjectives are based on Sanskrit adjectives found as *tatsama* (*e.g.* *prasanna* ‘glad’ p. 56, *matta* ‘intoxicated’ p. 42), *ardhatatsama* (*e.g.* *kirisa* < *kṛṣa* ‘lean’ p. 70, *nirabala* < *nirbala* ‘weak’ p. 70) or *tadbhava* (*e.g.* *tāta* < *tapta* ‘heated’, p. 60, *subhāvā* < *subhavya* ‘very impressive’, p. 48). Sometimes several forms of the same adjective may be found *e.g.* *sakala -o*, p. 50, *saala*, p. 66, *sagara*, p. 66.

Only the following adjectives are of Persian origin:—*surutani* ‘belonging to Sultan’, p. 64, *ganda* ‘dirty’, p. 38, *kharāba* ‘bad’, p. 40, *sadara* ‘principal’, p. 38, *hajarj* ‘thousand’, p. 38, *tāji* ‘smart and speedy’, p. 84.

7. Adjectives do not generally change for gender; only the following instances of the feminine gender have been noticed:

rūsali bibhūti 'angry prosperity', p. 14, **tetuli belā** 'at that time', p. 18, **baḍḍi māṇo** 'great Name' (the feminine appears misplaced because **māṇo** is masculine, but as it means 'glory', possibly the adjective has the gender of **kitti** 'glory' fm. by contamination), **dosari amaravati** 'a second **Amarāvati**', p. 28, **auki hāṭa kareo** 'of the other market', p. 32, **baṛi baṛi śaphari** 'big fish', p. 36, **hini mājba khini** 'the middle portion, lean and devoid (of defects)', p. 36, **nāri biakhhkhanī** 'clever women', p. 38, **aḍi ḍiṭhi** 'with a slanting glance', p. 40, **giti garuvi** 'an effective song', p. 42, **baṛi sāti** 'great harassing', p. 68, **puhuvī bhae jā chōṭi** 'the Earth was becoming smaller', p. 94.

Adjectives do not change for case either. Only the following instances of change for the oblique cases are found: **bahule bhāṭi** 'in many ways', p. 30, **ēkē kṣaṇē** 'in one moment', p. 30, **taruṇe turuka vācā** 'word of young Turk', p. 90, **garuṇē dāpē** 'with great pride', p. 88, **sagare rāha** 'on the whole path', p. 80, **dosare māthe** 'on another head', p. 68. The following instances only show change for plural number :

sabe (rāe) 'all (kings)', p. 60, **bākulē (baanē)** 'attractive (faces)', p. 68, **kācale (naanē)** 'charming (eyes)', p. 68, **(cinhē) bhinne bhinne** 'different (insignia)', p. 94, **baḍḍeo** 'big men', p. 20, **chōṭeo turukā** 'even low Turks', p. 44.

8. The following numerals appear in the text :

(a) **Cardinals**

1. **ēka**, p. 92, **yaka**, p. 42, **ekao**, p. 70
2. **bē**, p. 88, **bēvi**, p. 80, **duhu**, p. 98, **duaō**, p. 24
(**bē** appears 14 times and **du** 5 times).
3. **tinni**, p. 8, **tīnu-hu**, p. 14, **tīnū**, p. 20, 34, **tīnu**, p. 36, **tina** p. 74
4. **cāri**, p. 84, **cāruhu (pāṇe)**, p. 86.
5. **pañca**, p. 16
7. **sāta**, p. 52
8. **aṭṭha**, p. 96, **asta**, p. 28
10. **dasao**, p. 10, **dasa**, p. 68

20. **bīsa**, p. 90

28. **aṭṭhātsaṃ**, p. 52.

100. **sae**, p. 90, **śata**, p. 28.

1,000 **sahasa**, p. 26, **hajārī**, p. 38

1,00,000 **lakhkha** p. 38, **lakha**, p. 66

1,00,00,000 **kōṭi**

(b) **Ordinals**

1st. **pahila**, p. 36, **paḍhaṇa**, p. 16, **prathaṇa**, p. 1

2nd. **dosarē**, p. 68, **dosarī**, p. 28

3rd. **tesarā**, p. 34

5th. **pancama**, p. 10

(c) **Fractional**

1/3 **tīya**, p. 36.

(d) **Miscellaneous**

'a few' -**ekkē**, p. 104, **ekka**, p. 20 **kichu** p. 62.

'numerous' -**bahula**, p. 70, **anēa**, p. 84, **anekō**, p. 38 **bahū**, p. 106,
bahutā, p. 33, **bahuta**, p. 92, **pracura**, p. 28

'all' -**sabē**, p. 60, **saba**, p. 50, **sabba**, p. 16

'innumerable' -**aṇavarata**, p. 82, **anantā**, p. 40, **akhila**, p. 86.

PRONOUNS.

9. First Person.

In the direct case there is only one form **hañō** 'I' which is found in five places, (p. 6, 8, 18, 80, 100). This is based on **aḥam**.

In the oblique **mo** (p. 64) is found once and so also **moñe** (p. 4), both have a dative sense. The genitive has several forms **mama** (p. 22, 112), **mahu** < **masso** (p. 62, 110, 112) **maha** < **massa** (p. 110), **majhu** (p. 4, 58), **majjhu** (p. 22), **mujhu** (p. 70), **mujjhu** (p. 4, 72), all based on **mahyam** and **mōra** (p. 20), **mera-hu** (p. 20) which appear to have an enclitic (**kara?**) added to the oblique form.

aḥma appears twice (p. 72, 74) and **aṃmaha** once (p. 70) as genitive only. They go back to the Prakrit **aṃhē**.

10. Second Person.

In the direct **toñe** appears once (p. 112), **tōha** once (p. 64) and **tohe** four times (p. 58, 64, 64, 64) **tumhā** appears as Nominative four times (p. 60, 60, 64, 64) and as accusative once (p. 60).

In the oblique **tohi** (p. 112) appears accusative and **tujjha** once as dative (p. 112) and twice on (p. 56, 58) as genitive **tumhā** occurs as a genitive twice p. 60 and **tumha** as genitive twice (p. 58, 60). Oblique **tō** (p. 58) is used with the postposition **kā** as a dative.

All these forms are derivable from the Prakrit forms.

11. Third Person.

The forms of the third person, remote demonstrative and correlative fall together.

In the direct singular the text has the following:

(a) **sō** which appears six times as demonstrative (p. 6, 6, 8, 26, 62, 112) and twice (p. 4, 20) as correlative,

(b) **sa** (p. 12) as third person pronoun

(c) **sē** as correlative once (p. 112) and as demonstrative once (p. 112).

(d) **ō** seven times (p. 4, 50, 50, 64, 64, 64, 68) and **ō-hu** thrice (p. 50, 64, 64) appear as demonstrative.

In the direct plural we have two forms **tā** (p. 96) as a correlative and **tē** (p. 94) as third person subject.

The oblique has several forms **tā** is found twice (p. 22, 100) as accusative and once as genitive (p. 94), **tāhi** appears thrice (28, 50, 50) and in every case stands as a demonstrative adjective to plural nouns, once it appears with **karō** (p. 86) as genitive singular. Similarly **tanhi** (p. 36) without postposition and **tanhi** (p. 36, 12) with **karī**, **karō** denote genitive plural and **tenhe** (p. 76) and **tenhi** (p. 62) stand as demonstrative adjectives with plural nouns. **tasu** (p. 26, 33, 44, 4, 8, 10, 50, 74, 83, 100), **tāsu** (p. 10, 12, 74, 100, 76) and **tisu** (p. 74) stand as genitive without postposition, only once does **tasu** appear with **kērā** (p. 32).

so without postposition (p. 96) and with *ki* (p. 32) and *ka* (p. 42) denotes genitive.

tauna appears once (p. 58) as an adjective and is derived from *ta+una* (*tat punah*) *tam*: Pkt. *tam* as an adjective is found twice (p. 88, 90) in the sense of 'that'.

12. Relative Pronoun.

In the direct *jō* appears as Nominative singular thrice (p. 4, 20, 80) and *je* thrice as singular (p. 10, 16, 72) and once as plural (p. 96).

In the oblique singular we have *jena* thrice on p. 8 (Pkt. *jena*) and *je* < *jena* thrice (p. 8, 10, 80) *je* appears as an adjective twice (p. 90, p. 112). As agentive *jenhe* appears on (p. 10, 12, 14 and six times on p. 76 and *jenne* once (p. 12). In all these cases it is plural. There is one instance of *jei* (p. 10) and there are two instances of *janhi*, once (p. 34) without post-position and once (p. 32) with *kē*. In the genitive singular we have *jasu* (p. 6, 8, 74, 76, 88, 114), *jassa* (p. 6) *jāsu* (p. 6, 8, 48, 84) and *jisu* (p. 74). *jam* appearing once (p. 10) is used as a locative, *jehe* as an adjective of *gāñō* (p. 24) and *jeñona* (< *jem una*) of *darabāra meñāñē* (p. 50).

13. Proximate Demonstrative.—

In the direct we have *i* (p. 4) and *ehu* (p. 8, 18, 50, 96) and in the oblique *ehi* (p. 18) and *ehi* (p. 50).

i is a modern demonstrative; *ehu* < *esō* and in *ehi*, *ehi-hi* possibly represents the oblique ending.

14. Interrogative.—

In the direct we find *kō* on p. 8, 62, 64, 82, 96, 110 and *kē* on p. 52, 88 as animate and *kī* (p. 6, 93, 93, 60, 70, 76, 80) *kā* (p. 4, 28, 34, 40, 42) and *kāha* (p. 64) as inanimate. We also have *kavana* (p. 8), *kañona* (p. 51), *kamana* (p. 68, 96, 112) and *kamaña* (p. 22).

There are two instances of *kana* (instr. sg. p. 94, 98); of

these **kō** < **kaḥ**. **ke** is the Māg. form of **kō**; **ki** represents **kīm**; **kā** and **kāha?**; **kavana** etc., go back to **ka una**.

15. Indefinite.

(a) 'Some one' - **kōi** appears once (p. 16) and **kāhū** 12 times (9 times on p. 24 and once each on p. 34, 36 and 42). Once we have **kāhu-o** (p. 24). The inanimate **kichu** (somewhat) is found on p. 20, 30, 32, 42 and compounded with **āna** on p. 42.

(b) The pronouns meaning 'other' are:—

āna (**āṇa**) < **anya** on p. 18, 30, 58, 62, 94, **iara** (p. 60) **iarō** (p. 4) < **itara**, **avaru** (p. 34) < **apara** and **para** (p. 48).

The last one has its adjectives **parāri** (p. 42) **parāri** (p. 104).

16. Reflexive.

We have several forms based on **ātman viz.**, **āpe** (p. 48, 80), **apa-ka-** (p. 90), **appā** (p. 104), **appa** (p. 4) **appu** (p. 32, 66) and **apana** (p. 22), **apanē** (p. 32), **apenehu** (p. 60), **apanēñō** (p. 42) and **appana** (p. 100). All are used in a genitive sense except **āpe** which means 'by one's self'. **nia** (p. 72, 48) and **niña** (p. 8, 18, 60, 94, 100) < **nija** as well as **nija** (p. 18, 102) mean 'one's own'.

17. Pronominal Adjectives.

The following pronominal adjectives, besides those already mentioned under various pronouns, have been found in the text:—

(a) **taisanā** (**prastāva**) 'of that sort', p. 62, **taisao** (**kabba**) 'of that sort', p. 4; **aisa**, p. 22, **aisō** (**kaṭaknhi**) p. 92, **aiseo** (**paratāpe**), p. 44, **aisano** (**āsa**), p. 36, **aisaneño** (**ūpatāpa**), p. 62, **aisenñao**, p. 34, —'such'; **jaisao** (**kabba**) 'as', p. 4.

(b) **tetuli** (**belā**) 'that much', p. 18, **ettā** (**dukkkha**) 'so much', p. 72, **kata** 'how much' p. 88.

(c) **ettē** (**lakkhana**) 'so many', p. 6; **kata** (**dhāgara**) 'how many?' p. 90, **katchu** (**dine**) 'many a', p. 24.

Of these (a) are based on **-drśa** (**tādṛśa** etc.), (b) and (c) on **-vat**. The suffix **-na** is an addition in **taisanā**, **taisao**; **aisa** being the ordinary forms.

POSTPOSITIONS.

18. Only about a hundred postpositions are found in this text. Of these after nouns and pronouns we have the genitive postpositions used 73 times, instrumental and ablative 11 times, locative 6 times and dative once. The rest are after adverbs, *e.g.* **tē** and **kahu**.

(a) Genitive -dative.

ka—17 times (*e.g.* p. 14 **śakti ka parikṣā** 'test of strength'). Only once has it a dative sense (**ahimāna ka** 'to pride' p. 58).

kā—3 times, once genitive (**nāgaranhi kā mana gāḍa** 'got fixed in the hearts of citizens', p. 33) and twice as dative (**adhama uttama kā pāraka** 'the low man gives deliverance to one high birth' p. 16, **āna kā lāga** 'stuck to another', p. 30.)

kā—3(100, 102, 92) used as genitive in all the cases (*e.g.* **gaṇḍaka kā pāṇī** 'the water of Gaṇḍaka', p. 100).

kē—7 times always genitive and with a noun in an oblique case (*e.g.* **surutāna ke pharamānē** 'on the Sultan's Firmān', p. 80).

kai—3 times, once with a feminine noun (**āsa asavāra kai** 'the hope of a horseman', p. 86) and twice with a masculine noun (**sira navai sabba kai** 'the head of every one bends down', p. 50, **bhae sabba kai** 'everyone's fear', p. 50).

kō—7 times, all genitive (*e.g.* **rasa ko mamma** 'the secret of sentiment', p. .) •

karō—14 times, all genitive with a singular noun (*e.g.* **tānhi karō putra** 'their son', p. 12).

kare—2 times, both genitive and with nouns in an oblique case (**kumbhōdbhava karē niyamātikramē peli** 'having moved in the transgression of the injunction of (the sage) born of a jar, p. 82, **padma kare ākāre** 'in the form of a lotus', p. 86).

kareo—4 times (14, 30, 32, 50, *e.g.* **duṣṭa karēo dappa cūreō** 'trampled on the pride of the wicked', p. 14).

karī —7 times, all genitive with a feminine noun (*e.g.* **sattu karī** **ḍiṭhi** 'the glance of the enemy' p. 112).

kerā —5 times, all genitive (10, 26, 32, 72, 102, *e.g.* **tā kula kerā baḍḍipana** 'the greatness of that family', p. 10).

kerī —once and with a feminine noun (**taṃ diṣa kerī rāya-ghara-tarūṇī haṭṭa bikāthī** 'the youthful Royal ladies of that family are sold in the market', p. 90). Of the above **ka**, **kā**, **kā**, **kē** and **kai** go back to some forms of **kṛta**, and **karō**, **kare**, **kareo** and **karī** to the elongated Prakrit forms of the same participle (**kariō** etc.) while **kerā** and **kerī** possibly to ***kāryaka**.

(b) Locative.

mājha 2(**yuvarājanhi mājha pavitra** 'clean (virtuous) amongst the Princes, p. 12, **mājha saṅgāma** 'in the battle', p. 104).

maju 1(**sānā maju** 'in the army', p. 80)

māḍi 1(**bīṭhi māḍi** 'in the street', p. 32).

pā 1(**bhumi pā** 'on the Earth', p. 86).

pari 1(**kamana pari** 'on whom', p. 95).

Of these **mājha** and **maju** are derived from **madhya** and **pā** < **pakṣa** or **pārśva** while **pari** < **upari**.

(c) Instrumental-ablative

sē —2(**dāma sē** 'by the string', p. 84, **tāsa sē** 'from fear', p. 84).

saṅho —6 (6, 22, 32, 82, 104, *e.g.* **jīva saṅho** 'with life', p. 22).

taha —1 (**yātrāhū taha** 'even by going', p. 30).

hō —1 (**rōla hō** 'by the noise', p. 30).

hunte —1 (**duru hunte** 'from far off', p. 46).

Of these **saṅho** < **sama** or **saṇāna** the latter being used as such in **pabbha samāna** 'with or like a mountain', p. 82; and **sē** < **sahitena**, while **taha** possibly comes from **tataḥ**, **hunte** from **hontae** locative of the imperfect participle of √**bhū** - and **hō** also from √**bhū** -.

(d) Dative—besides the few cases cited under genitive we have **lāgi** once in the sense of 'for' (**tesarā lāgi** 'for the third' p. 34). It is the absolutive form of **lag-**

VERBS.

19. The text abounds in the verbs of the past tense and of habitual or historic present, as it is a descriptive poem. The other verbs are found generally in direct speech.

20. The Present Tense.

This is generally expressed by verbs with personal terminations based more or less on the ancient Present tense. The terminations are:

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1st.	-año	
2nd.	(a) -asi (b) -ahi	
3rd.	(a) -ai (-ae) (b) -ahi (c) -athi (d) -a	(a) -ahi (b) -anti

Note.—The initial **a-** of these terminations is elided if they are found after roots ending in **ā** (**jā**: **jāthi** p. 30), **e** (**de**: **dei** p. 40), and **ō** (**hō**: **hōi** p. 16).

1st sg.—*e.g.* **jampañō** ‘I say’, p. 6, **lāvañō** ‘I bring’, p. 100, **hañō kahañō** ‘I say’, p. 80. There is one instance (**dekhaō** ‘I see’, p. 18) where **-ñ-** (which represented merely nasalisation) is absent. The termination is based on **-āmaḥ** of the plural, transferred to the singular.

2nd sg.—There are only three instances of (a)—**kahasi** ‘sayest’, p. 6, **jāsi**, ‘goest’, p. 112, **bhaggasi** ‘runs always’, p. 112, all in a conjunctive sense, and three of (b)—**jāhi**, p. 112, **jāhi jāhi**, p. 112, and **jāhi jāhi**, p. 112, all in the sense of imperative. Both are possibly the **-si** termination of the Prakrits, (b) showing the development of **-s-** as **-h-**.

3rd. sg.—by far the most common form is **-ai**, (*e.g.* **besāhai** ‘buys’, p. 32, **pajjātai** ‘roams’, p. 28) there are about half a dozen instances of **-ae** (*e.g.* **milae** ‘meets’ p. 38), nine of (b) (*e.g.* **dhāvahi**

'runs', p. 94) and sixteen of (c) (*e.g.* *āvathi* 'comes', p. 30; once *hōtha* 'becomes', p. 102). Sometimes the same root is available under more than one form (*rahai*, p. 42, *rahai* p. 48, *āvahl*, p. 46, *āvai*, p. 60). Of these form (a) goes back to Sanskrit *-ati* > -Prakrit-*ai*, *-ae* being merely a variant of *ai* in pronunciation. In *athi* there appears to be a resuscitation of the ancient form with an emphatic aspiration, and *-ahi* would be a derivation of *-athi*. Or possibly the *-h-* in *-ahi* represents emphatic *ai*. It should be noted that *athi* does not express any honorific sense as against modern Maithilī (Chatterji, p. 936).

Besides the above we have two instances of *-ē* (*karē* 'does', p. 34, *kharidē* 'buys', p. 38) which is a further development of *ai*. We have ten instances of present tense in *-a* (*e.g.* *kara* 'does' p. 34, *bāja* 'strikes', p. 52, *basā* 'resides' p. 26, *hōa* 'becomes' p. 38). There are a few instances of the Past tense in *-a* (see infra 21 (a) A similar form in *-a* is found in Tulsidās also¹. What is the origin of this? Does it represent, the loss of final *-i* of *ai*? But this is not attested by modern. Maithilī or Awadhī? Is the perfect participle here found used as the present?

Note.—In a few instances the root in *-ā*, *-ē* and *ō* is by itself found without any desinence (*jā* 'goes', p. 34, *khā* 'eats' p. 42, *dā* 'gives' p. 42, *hō* 'becomes', p. 102, *lē* 'takes' p. 86).

3rd. plural—the (a) form is *-ahī* is the most common *e.g.* *hērāhī* 'they look for', p. 26) *ānahī* 'they bring' p. 28), there being only three instances of (b) (*taullanti* 'they weigh', p. 38, *hasāhanti* 'they purchase', p. 38, *pajhāleri* 'they wash', p. 106). Both go back to ancient *-anti*, *-h-* in (a) being for emphasis or to avoid the hiatus and the (b) forms being the ancient resuscitated forms of the Prakrits.

21. The Past Tense.

This is based on the ancient perfect participle. The variety of forms is confusing by abundance and the use is without any

¹1. Vide Allahabad University Studies Vol. II p. 212 Note 3.

reference to persons. The same form is found used with a first person, second person or third person subject. The following are the terminations:

- (a) -ō, -u (ū), -a, -ā in the singular and -ē in the plural.
- (b) -aū (-au).
- (c) -iao, iaū (-iau), -iū.
- (d) -ia, -iā, -iā.
- (e) -eo.
- (f) -a/a, -ali.

(a) There are four instances of this form in -ō (*e.g.* **nimajjo** 'sunk', p. 108, **kharō** 'stood', p. 106), 12 in -u (**paru** 'fell', **jāgu** 'awoke', p. 18, **pasaru** 'was spread' p. 32, **pucchu** 'asked', p. 58), about 20 in -a (**paīṭṭha** 'entered', p. 46, **bhāga** 'broke' p. 30) 4 in -ā (**bhā** 'became', p. 20, **bikā** 'was sold' p. 68, **āā** 'came' p. 94, **baṭṭhurānā** 'got together' p. 48) and 7 in -ē (**paīṭṭhē** 'entered', p. 38, **bharē** 'filled', p. 38, **tharē** 'stood', p. 46).

(b) There is quite a large number of forms of this variety, it takes up with -ia the largest number. The nasalisation is absent in very few cases. For instance:

ūppanaū 'born' p. 16, **huaū** 'was', p. 8.

(c) There is one instance of -iao (**dhana choḍḍiao** 'wealth was abandoned' p. 22), but quite a large number of -iaū (*e.g.*, **kariaū** 'did', p. 8, **tumhe bhāriaū** 'you filled', p. 60 **kariau** 'did', p. 24. Only a few instances of -iū are found (*e.g.* **jēna niāna kula uddhariū** 'who redeemed his family', p. 8).

(d) A large number of forms are of this variety, -iā being merely a nasalised form of **ia** (*e.g.*, **jēna balē rāvaṇa māria** 'who killed Rāvaṇa by force', p. 8, **riū dalia tumhē** 'you crushed the enemy', p. 60, **mahala kō mamma jāniāna** 'he came to know the secrets of the palace' p. 52). There are only six instances of **iā** which is merely an elongation of **ia** for the sake of metre (*e.g.* **paḥ bhare pathara curiā** 'the gravel crushed by the weight of feet', p. 46). In **uggia** 'come up', p. 32 and **cukkiha** 'missed', p. 62 we have -h-.

(e) There are six instances of this form (e.g., *janhe asti karō manōratha pūreo* 'who satisfied the longing of the king', p. 14).

(f) Only 42 instances of this form are found. *-ala* is masculine and *-ali* feminine (e.g., *suratāna samānala* 'the Sultan-honoured', p. 10, *rūsali bibhūti palaṭāe ānali* 'the angered Prosperity was brought back', p. 14). In one instance the form ends in *-ila* (fem.) *-gōmatha purila mahi* 'the Earth was filled with temples', p. 44.

In the above forms we find several stages of the ancient perfect participle, simple and elongated, with *-i* and without *-i*. The nasalisation is inexplicable. The *-I-* forms are the participle base plus *-illa* termination. Considering modern Maithīlī where all forms of past tenses are based on *-I-* participle, the small number of these in the present text is striking.

There is one instance of 3rd person plural verb (*lekena rāya gaenera* 'king Gaṇeśvara profited', p. 18) where *-ena* appears as a personal termination.

Note.—the Perfect participle is in several cases found used as an adjective e.g., *vea paḍha* 'well-read in the Vedas', p. 8).

22. Future Tense.

Only the following instances of the future are found in the text:

1st person *kahabā* 'I shall say', p. 10.

2nd person (*tumhe na*) *hōsaū* (*asahanā*) 'you will not become angry', p. 60.

3rd person sg. *hōsai* 'will be', p. 4, 64, 64,

dūsihai 'will blame', p. 4,

sijhihai 'will be accomplished', p. 62,

kariha 'will do', p. 4, *bujjbiha* 'will understand',

p. 4, *jivviha* 'will live', p. 72, *dharijjiha* 'will be kept', p. 74,

dijjiha 'will give', p. 72,

hōia 'will be', p. 30.

Of these **kahaba** is based on **tavya** > **abba** and the rest on the ancient future : **bōsañ** < **bhaviṣyatha** > **bōissaha** > **bōisahu** > **bōsau**; the **s** later becomes **-h-** (*e. g.*, in **dusihai**) and may even be lost (*e. g.*, **bōia**).

Note.—The above are the forms of the Indicative mood. There are no separate forms for the Conjunctive, the forms of the Indicative are used with **jai** or **jañō** 'if' to indicate that sense. The conditional is based on the Imperfect Participle (see *infra* §24); only two instances of it are found (**tañō**) **sittāata** (**rajja**) 'then the kingship would be reestablished', p. 56 (**ābe kata**) **sahata** (**je rāe**) 'how would the king have put up with it till now', p. 74.

23. Imperative.

2nd sing.—there are eight instances : (a) in **-a**, **sunā** p. 64, **sunā** 'hear', p. 6, **bhaṇa** p. 22, **kaha kaha** 'say' p. 80. **anūsara** 'follow' p. 112, (b) in **-hi**, **jahi** (**jahi**) 'go' p. 112, (c) in **-isu**, **karisu** 'do' p. 62, **harijjiu** 'remove', p. 64. Of these (c) is possibly derived from ancient II sg. Atmanepada **-sva** (**kurusva**).

2nd plural—six instances are found : **karahu**, p. 20 **kahabu** p. 16, 50, 56, **karao**, p. 58, **sunao** p. 38, 16, **bhuñjaha** 'enjoy', p. 18, **sajjaha sajjaha** 'be ready', p. 82.

All these are based on the ancient second person present plural in **-tha**, which at some stage in the Prakrits become **thō** > **hō** > **hu** : **ha**.

3rd. sing.—All the eight instances are based on ancient **-tu** (**rahañ** 'may remain', p. 22, **jañ**, p. 22, (**jāu** 'may go', p. 76, **sābau** 'may rub' p. 10, **jiau** 'may live', p. 10, **karau**, p. 10, **karao** 'may do', p. 60 **kariau** 'may be done', p. 38).

Besides the above an impersonal passive imperative in **-ai** and **-ia** is found, *e. g.*, **ehu kamma na karai** 'let this not be done', p. 18, **sēvai** 'let him be served', p. 64, **karijjai** 'let it be done', p. 64, **dharai** 'be kept' p. 18, **jāia** 'may go', p. 68, **ānia** 'bring', p. 68, **chānia** 'strain', p. 68. This is based on the Passive present.

24. THE IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE.

This is frequently used to describe a condition of things as it is and also sometimes used in place of the present tense finite verb. It has two forms:

(a) -antā and (b) -antē

(a) *e.g.* **abe be bhaṇantā (turukkā)** 'the Turks saying **abe, be**, p. 40, **āvantā jantā kajja karantā mānava** 'man, coming, going and doing (his) business. p. 48, **pūhaviē pālā āvantā** 'the kings (guardians of the Earth) are coming', p. 46.

(b) *e.g.* **hāthi...jāthi bhāgantē gācha cāpantē** 'the elephant goes running and cutting trees', p. 82, **sikāra khelantē...paradappa bhami bhañjantē...bāṭa santari...surutāna baiṭha** 'the Sultana passed the way, hunting, breaking other's pride by making a round, and sat', p. 98.

Note 1. A few cases of -anta (**bōlanta** 'speaking', p. 74) **ṭuṭṭanta** 'breaking' p. 106, **buḍanta** 'sinking', p. 16, 106) and -antao (**bhamantao** 'roaming', p. 46) and -antō (**karantō** 'doing') are found.

Note 2. On page 9) **jaite** 'going' and **khaitē** 'eating' appear as forms of this participle. I should, however, connect them with the oblique form of the verbal noun (see infra 28) plus the postposition **tē**,

This participle has been used in this text without any modification due to number or person. For instance on page 46 **bhamantaō** qualifies **duaō rājakumāra** 'both the princes', and on page 34 **khaṇḍante** etc. qualify **vaiśyāhi** - feminine.

The -ō and -ā (a) forms are the Nominative cases of the Prakrit participle. The **ē** form where it is nominative represents the **māgadhi** nominative in **ē**. In a few cases it is the locative of the participle, *e.g.* **mahājanhi karō bōlante** 'while the elders spoke', p. 18.

Note.—At one place -antē has been modified to -addē (**bīharaddē** 'roaming', p. 46) for the sake of rhyme.

In *alabhanā* 'one who has not obtained', p. 34, is there an instance of ancient *-āna* termination (*alabhamānaḥ*)?

25. THE ABSOLUTIVE.

This is expressed by adding (a) *-i* or (b) *-ia* e.g. *gai* 'having gone', *ghai* 'have caught', p. 42, *sādhi* 'having held', p. 14; *chodḍia* 'having abandoned', p. 70, *karia* 'having done', p. 76, *bittharia* 'having spread' p. 83). There are only about a dozen instances of (b) and in one case, the termination appears as nasalised *bissamiña* 'having taken rest', p. 52. In a few cases the *-i* of (a) appears as *-ē* (e.g. 'having done', p. 88, 90, *manusāe* 'having become angry', p. 96, *dhāe* 'having run', p. 62, *dhāñe*, p. 90).

The absolute is generally found without a postposition, only *kahū* appears 6 times (*dhāe kahu* 'having run', p. 62, *damsai kahū*, 'having trampled', p. 96, *sunī kahū* 'having heard', p. 98, *thelli kahū* 'having flanked', p. 100) *palati kahū* 'having turned', p. 110 *sammaddi kahū* 'having crushed', p. 8.

In *jā* 'having gone', p. 83, *lā lā* 'having taken', p. 40, the root-form itself expresses the absolute and in *bēcā* 'having sold', p. 68, *-ā* and in *pucchihi* 'having asked', p. 52, *-hi* appears to indicate an absolute.

The derivation of *-ia*, *-i* is from Prakrit *ia* which may become *i* and may disappear later (as in *jā*, *lā*).

26. The Passive Voice

The synthetic passive, derivable from *-ijja-* and *-ia-* of the Prakrits, is found in 27 forms, 7 *-j-* and 20 *-i-*. For instance:

jenhe ruṭṭha hua jama sahijja

'by whom angered yama was put up with; p. 76,

suha muhutta ahiseka kijja

'at an auspicious moment coronation was performed', p. 76,

aru kata dhagaḍa dekhiathi

'and how many strong men are seen', p. 90,

jē saba kariāñ appa basa

‘by whom all was brought under his own control’, p. 10.

The periphrastic passive, with $\sqrt{\text{jā}}$ ‘to go’ appears only two, or three times; **cūri jā basundharā** ‘the Earth is shattered’, p. 84 **bahuta bāpura cūri jāñhi** ‘many poor people get trampled’, p. 30.

27. The Causative.

There are about a dozen instances of the causative (e.g. **palatā** ‘having caused to return’, p. 14, **karāvae māri** ‘causes annihilation’ p. 60, **bañhāve** ‘causes to sit’, p. 42), all derivable from the ancient causative in -ā and -āv.

28. The Verbal Noun.

There are four instances of the direct case (**jīanā** < **jīvana-ka** ‘living’, p. 20, **basane pāñela** ‘were’ able to live’, p. 24, **denā** ‘giving’, p. 44, **māri** ‘beating’, p. 60) which should be connected with (a) ancient -ana- and (b) mag. -ē and ten cases of the oblique (**jai tē** ‘by going’, p. 44 **rahaitē** ‘to remain’, p. 86, **karaitē** ‘by doing’, p. 62, **sevai** ‘for serving’, p. 60, **dīvai hañe** ‘at the time of drinking’, p. 68 **hiñdae** ‘to make round’, p. 30, **kinai tē** ‘for buying’, p. 30, **bikāñ** ‘for selling’, p. 30, **chuae** ‘to touch’, p. 68, **bōlee, bōlae** ‘talking’, p. 20). What is this oblique? Chatterji (Origin and Development of Bengali, p. 1014) calls it merely an oblique of verbal noun in -i, and takes -i as a suffix.

The direct (a) once ends in -i (**bujjhani** ‘understanding’, p. 18).

The Noun of Agency.

There is only one instance of this **bujjhani -hāra** ‘one who understands’, p. 18 - **hāra** being derivable from -**dhāraka**.

29. The Verb ‘to be’.

We find the forms of three roots:

(a) $\sqrt{\text{as}}$, **hai** p. 40.

(b) $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ (1) **hō**, p. 96. **hōa**, p. 36, **hōi**, p. 102, **hua**, p. 94 **hōañ** p. 80, **huañ**, p. 76, **huaño** p. 100, **hōsai**, p. 64, **hōsañ**, p. 60.

(2) **bhai**, p. 100, **bhae**, p. 70, **bhañi**, **bhau**, p. 98, **bhela**, p. 102, **bheli** p. 24.

(c) $\sqrt{\text{rah}}$ **rahu**, p. 96, **rahai** p. 42, 86, **rahiau**, p. 70.

30. The Periphrastic tenses.

Instances of the forms of the periphrastic tenses are rare. The following have been noticed:

āvatta hua 'was coming', p. 94.

risiai hai 'gets angry', p. 40.

sahi rahiañi 'went on bearing', p. 70.

tutti rahē 'got broken' p. 110.

31. The Compound Verbs

There are 24 instances of compound verbs:

(a) $\sqrt{\text{cah}}$ expresses the aspect of desire: **bhāgae caha** 'wishes to run away i. e. is about to run away', p. 36. **upara caḍhāvae cāha ghōra** 'wants to (i.e. is about to) make the horse climb up', p. 44.

(b) $\sqrt{\text{lāg}}$ to express the aspect of the inception of an action, **bōlee lāgu** 'began to speak', p. 20.

(c) $\sqrt{\text{pāv}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{pār}}$ to express the aspect of the ability to do an action, **kinaite pāvathi** 'is able to purchase', p. 30, **basañe pāñela** 'was able to reside', p. 24, **chuac pāia** 'is able to touch', p. 68; **gaṇae na pārlā** 'it is not possible to count', p. 46, **gaṇae na pāriai** 'it is not possible to count', p. 94, **sabahi na pārai** 'is not able to bear', p. 60.

(d) $\sqrt{\text{jā}}$, $\sqrt{\text{lē}}$, and $\sqrt{\text{dē}}$ express the aspect of completeness or intensity of an action:

bhae, gēla 'became', p. 16, 60, **bhara gae** 'became filled' p. 104, **dhāe gae** 'having run', p. 108, **lāghi jāthi** 'jumps over', p. 84 **bhae jā** 'becomes', p. 86, **jiti jā** 'wins', p. 86, **dekhāe jā** 'shows', p. 100; **khāi lē** 'eats', p. 40, **chōli lē** 'seizes', p. 86, **meli dēñō** 'I shall bring' p. 110, **bāhara kae dēla** 'turned out', p. 80, **dījīhi bandha** 'will tie' p. 72.

ADVERBS.

32. Of Place.

(a) based on pronouns

- (1) 'where' -*jam*, p. 26, *jahā*, p. 103, 24, 68, *jahim* p. 38, 90, *jaidha kē*, p. 112,
'wherever' -*jam jam*, p. 98, *jahim jahim*. p. 106,
- (2) 'where?' -*kai*, p. 6; 'somewhere' -*kahi*, *kahī*, p. 38, *katabu* p. 42, 44.
- (3) 'here' -*ia*, p. 48, *nehā*, p. 58, *ehu*, p. 96
- (4) 'there' -*taththa*, p. 38, *tam tam*, p. 98, *tahā*, p. 58, *tabā* p. 72, 108, *tahī*, *tahī* p. 106; *ohu*, p. 96, *uthi*, *utthi*, p. 50
- (5) 'everywhere' -*saba tahū*, p. 38, 60, 'at one place' *ekattha*, p. 8

(b) based on other old adverbs

- 'above' -*ūppara*, 34, *ūppari*, p. 32, *upara*, p. 44 *uppara*, p. 90, *uppari*, p. 50, 'inside' -*bhitara* p. 42, 'in front' *agri*, p. 66, *saño*, p. 112, -*sōjha*, p. 112, 'behind' -*pachē*, p. 94, *pachu*, p. 102, 108, *pacha*, p. 40, *pīchē*, p. 96
- 'outside' -*bāhara*, p. 46, 80, *bāharao*, p. 62, 'near' -*niara*, p. 110, *pāsa*, p. 88; 'far off' -*dūra*, p. 38, 52, *barā drua*, p. 60; 'on all sides' -*caupaṭa*, p. 102, *atarē paṭarē*, p. 48.

33. Of time.

(a) based on pronouns

- (1) 'when' -*jam*, p. 34, *jaba*, p. 66, *jabē*, p. 18, 16, 30, 34, *jābē*, p. 76, *jamana*, p. 40; 'whenever' -*jaba hī* p. 42, *ja khañē*, p. 66, 96
- (2) 'now' -*abe*, p. 58, *abahi*, p. 62
- (3) 'then' -*tā*, p. 52, 116, *taba*, p. 100, *tabbē*, p. 56, 110, *tabe*, p. 22, 34, *tābē*, p. 76, *tabahī*, p. 42, *tatō*, p. 38, *tau*, p. 58, *tau*, p. 52, *tam khañē* p. 22, 26, *tam khañē*, p. 60, 72, 98, 112; 'even then' -*tabahu*, p. 42, 70, *tabbahī*, p. 58.

(4) 'sometimes' -~~kābahu~~, p. 18, 90.

(b) based on other adverbs

'to day' -*ajja*, p. 53, *ajju*, p. 100, *āja*, p. 30; 'up till now' -*adya paryanta*, p. 50, 'first' -*paḍhama*, p. 58, 'long' -*cire*, p. 44, 'in the meantime' -*iththentara*, p. 64, *eththantara*, p. 62, 'again' -*punu vi*, p. 62, 76, *punaḥ*, p. 56, *punu*, p. 12, 18, 28, 56, 58, 64, 76, 112, *niccai* 'always', p. 4, *sahasahi* 'all at once' p. 90.

34. Of manner.

(a) based on pronouns.

(1) 'as' -*jimi*, p. 86, *jaḍ*, p. 64, *jañō*, p. 42, *jāsavē* p. 32.

(2) 'how' -*kaisē* p. 36, *kimi*, p. 4, 16, 72, 80 *kimi kari*, p. 80, *kasa*, p. 86, *kāñi*, p. 4, *kamaṇa*, p. 4, *kamane*, p. 48, *katta*, p. 74.

(3) 'in this way' -*asa*, p. 18.

(b) based on other old adverbs

'in this way' *ēva*, p. 70, *ēvañca*, p. 98, *ēma*, p. 52, 60, 112.

35. Other adverbs.

'no' -*na*, 20 times, *e.g.*, p. 4, 6; *na*, 7 times *e.g.*, p. 8, *nahi*, 14 times, *e.g.*, p. 18, *ṇahi*, p. 90, *nahī*, p. 68, *nāhi*, p. 64, 94, *nahu*, p. 6, 18, *ṇahu*, p. 70; 'surely' -*nāma*, p. 4, *hu*, p. 6, *dhua*, 6 times, *e.g.*, p. 64, *avasa*, p. 60, *avasao*, p. 4, 26, *bṛthā* 'uselessly', p. 20, *ati* 'very much', p. 36, 40, 70, *sasarā* 'noisily', p. 36; 'why' -*kāi*, p. 98, *kini*, p. 82, *kī*, p. 112, 'with' -*saṅga*, p. 84, *saththē*, p. 112, 'et cetra' -*prabhṛti*, p. 86.

36. Conjunctions.

(a) cumulative—'and' -*avara*, p. 100, *aru*, 10 times *e.g.*, p. 8, *avaru*, 18, 22, 28, 106; 'moreover' -*avi a*, p. 28, *api*, 66.

(b) alternative—*varu*, p. 22, *ki*, p. 22.

(c) adversative—'but' *pai*, p. 20, 64, 72, 42, *pae*, p. 50, 'but not' -*ṇa ūṇa*, p. 22, *na ūṇa*, p. 22, *na ūṇa*, p. 22, *ṇa uṇa*, p. 20, *na ṇuṇa*, p. 20;

'if' -*jai*, 8 times, p. 6, *je*, p. 100, *jaño* p. 22, *jo*, p. 74, *jau*, p. 42, *nam*, p. 112, *nam*, p. 22,

'then' -*atha*, p. 16, 56, *tā*, p. 6, *tañ*, p. 62, *tau*, p. 70, *tōv,i* p. 102, *tō*, 6 times, *e.g.*, p. 60, *tañ* p. 112, *taño*, p. 100, 'therefore' -*taisana*, p. 6; 'as if' -*jani*, 8 times, *e.g.*, p. 48.

(d) subordinative -*ke*; p. 74.

37. Emphatic forms.

(a) -*hu*, -*o*, -*u* are added after nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to give an inclusive sense, *e.g.*, *dhruvahu* 'of Dhruva also', p. 34, *baddeo* 'big men also', p. 26, *biggabau* 'battle also', p. 72. There are about 30 such forms in the text. These terminations go back to *khalu > khu > hu > u : o*.

(b) -*hi*, -*i* is added to the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to expressive a restrictive sense, *e.g.*, *dhamma pasārai* 'extension of virtue itself', p. 72, *padhamahi* 'at the very first', p. 82. There are about a dozen such forms in this text. The termination possibly goes back to *eva*, -*h* being emphatic.

THE SIBILANTS IN THE BUDDHIST DOHAS.

Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri published, a few years ago, a number of Buddhist songs (*caryas* and *dohās* which he discovered in Nepal. He characterised the language of these texts "old Bengali". Dr. S. K. Chatterji, however, after a more detailed study of these texts came to the conclusion that the songs only are written in what can be called "old Bengali" but the *Dohās* according to him present a dialect "which is a kind of Western (Śaurasēnī) Apabhramśa as its -u- nominatives, its -aha- genitives, its -ijja- passives and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhramśa amply indicate." (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* I, p. 112). This dialect according to him played the same role, as the Brajabhākhā did in later times, in relation to the Eastern languages. He however admitted that though it was a Western dialect some old Bengali idioms and words had crept into it.

M. Shahidullah has recently made an intensive study of these texts, (*Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et Saraha*, Paris, 1928) and has tried to establish that the language of these *dohās* is an Eastern Apabhramśa. In phonology he notices the preservation of palatal ś. It is the most important characteristic of the old Bengali and, according to Mārkaṇḍeya, of the Oḍhri dialect too. In Sarvānanda's commentary to the Amarakośa (1159 A. D.) the two sibilants are found and an occasional confusion of the two sibilants is attested in some of the inscriptions of the Pālas.

The text published by H. P. Śāstri is very corrupt and the large number of mistakes, it seems to me, is to be attributed to the fault of the copyist. As the *Mss.* of the *Dohās* on which H. P. Śāstri based his edition are now lost, M. Shahidullah had to depend only on the Tibetan translation for making his emendations, which are very valuable. But such emendations are helpful in making out the sense of the text but are not so useful for determining the forms of the words.

During my last stay in Nepal in 1929 I came upon a fragmentary palm-leaf MS of the Dohākośa of Saraha. In the same MS. I found two more fragmentary *dohās* which were not known hitherto. The MS. contains the date 220 Nepal Era i.e. 1100 A. D. I discovered another MS. in a private collection which contains two *dohās*, one of Tillopāda and the other of Saraha. The text of Saraha's *dohā* is the same as published by Śāstri and emended by Shahidullah. The *dohā* of Tillopā was hitherto unknown. My edition of these *dohās* will be shortly published by the Calcutta University. But on collating the two mss. of the Dohākośa of Saraha I find that there is only one sibilant in the text and it is always dental. The two fragments of the other *dohā* of Saraha and the *dohā* of Tillopā present the same characteristics. Therefore the main phonological ground on which Shahidullah characterised this Apabhramśa as Eastern is baseless.

It is in the following cases in the Dohākośa of Saraha that Shahidullah found the palatal sibilant preserved. In the following list I will mention in order the number of the stanza in Saraha's *dohā* (text as published by Shahidullah), the word as established by Shahidullah and then its correct form as found in the newly discovered MS of the *Dohākośa*.

3 beṣṣ (but in 5, 6, 10 besa) = beṣṣ

7 ṣunaha = sunaha

ṣiālaha = siālaha

19 ṣattha = sattha

(but in 58 and 70 sattha)

27 ṣaṣi = sasi

pabeṣa = pabesa

ubeṣa = ubesa

36 biṣuddho = bisuddha

37 doṣṣ (Śāstri's text doṣṣ) = doṣṣ

46 sai (Śāstri's text ṣai) = sai

65 deṣa = desa

- 66 bisaa (Śāstri's text biṣaya) = bisaa
 (but see 69, 72, 94, 103 where it is bisaa)
 68 aṇimisa (Śāstri's text aṇimiṣa) = aṇimisa
 73 biṣayāsatti = bisayāsatti
 76 dosa (Śāstri's text doṣa) = dosa
 86 deṣahi = desahi
 92 bisariaū (Śāstri's text biṣamai, = bisariaū
 96 kulisa = kulisa
 99 duriasesa (Śāstri's text duriāṣeṣa) = duriāsesa

In all other cases in the Dohakoṣa as published by Śāstri and as emended by Shāhidullah it is consistently the dental s that is used instead of ś and ṣ.

saalāsesa (61), sakai (54), sakkai (17), saranta (66), sarisa (50, 78, 86), sarira (91), sallatt (77), sambara (89), siri (56, 68), sisa (4), suaa (95), sukka (100), sunṇa, suna (16, 72), sudda (48), suddha (108), sunai (75), sunahu (57), sojjha, Sojjhu (5, 3, 101), sosa (10, 51, 93), sohai (85), sohia (40), pasu (23), pāsa (87), baisī (2, 4), biṇasai (55), parisahu (57), paḍabesi (86, 88) bisarisa (86, 88), bisuddha (72), bisama (27).

Saraha, Fragment I, ase, darisanē, sissa, paissai, paisai, biṇasai, bhuanāsi, paissi, aise, bisahi. *Sarah Fragment II*, barisantē, dīsai, paissai, dīsa, kīsa.

Tillopada—sunṇa, dīsai, kīsa, bisohahu, bisahi, dosa, ubaṣṣe.

These are sufficient to indicate that in the Apabhramśa of these Buddhist *dohās* the use of sibilant was regularly confined to the dental s. The confusion that appears in the text published by Śāstri is certainly due to the modern Nepalese copyist who can hardly distinguish between the dental and palatal sibilants in old manuscripts. Though I have not been able to discover any new manuscript of the Dohakoṣa of Kanha we will now be quite justified in reconstructing the few words which contain the palatal s: sasi (5), sattha (12), asesa, besa (21), sihara and sabasa (25) as even in these *dohās* of Kanha we see some regular use of dental s instead

of the palatal siriphala (2), sunna (8), sosa (14), pasa (23), and sijjhai (24).

It therefore follows that there is nothing in the phonology of the dialect used in these *dohās* which would justify us in considering it to be an "Eastern Apabhraṃśa" if we understand by it some dialect from which Bengali is descended. Prof. Jules Bloch is quite clear on this point in his preface to the book of Shahidullah: "We may call it oriental because it is found in Eastern texts and because there are some Eastern influences but it is not so if we wish to find in it the base of the modern Eastern languages". Under these circumstances we can still consider the language of these *dohās* as Western Apabhraṃśa which was adopted by the Buddhist scholars of the Magadhan School for writing these texts sometime between the 8th and 10th centuries A. D.

THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS FIRST AND SECOND PLURAL IN THE DARDIC AND KAFIR LANGUAGES.

G. MORGENSTIERNE.

In an instructive article ¹ Professor J. Bloch and Dr. H. Smith have recently discussed the treatment of Skt. *sm*, *ṣm* in middle and modern Indo-Aryan, and have added considerably to our understanding of the conflicting tendencies which have determined the development of these groups of consonants.

Yet many difficulties remain, especially in Dardic and Kafiri, as will appear from a survey of the forms of the personal pronouns, first and second plural, in these dialects. And, apart from the development of *sm*, *ṣm*, many other problems will meet us at every step of our investigation.

In Lhd we find [*as(s)ĩ*], [*tus(s)ĩ*] ², derived, with *sm*, *ṣm* > *s(s)*, from *asma-*, *tusma-*, like most other modern I-A forms.

The same is the case with Kshm. 1. [*as'*], gen. [*sôn**]; 2 *tõh'*, [*tuhondu*]. Note, however, that the treatment of *-ṣm-* does neither coincide with that of *-sm-*, nor with that of *-s-* (cf. *noš* 'daughter-in-law', *haš* 'mother-in-law'), but with that of *-š-* (cf. *bühur* 'father-in-law').

In Shina, too, the same type prevails, apart from the 1 pl. nom. *be*, about which further down. The Gilgit forms are: 1 obl. [*šso*], 2 nom. and abl. [*tsho*]. Regarding the aspirated *tsh*, cf. [*bātshār*] 'calf' etc. I heard *tsāh* 'you' in the dialect of Pales in the Indus Kohistan.

Further developments to the abl. forms appear in the dialects of the Indus Kohistan:

Gauro 1 gen.	[<i>asš</i>]	2 nom.	[<i>tus</i>],	gen.	[<i>tusš</i>]
Chilis „	[<i>azš</i>]	„	„	„	[<i>tsš</i>]
Maiyš „	[<i>zš</i>]	„	„	„	[<i>sš</i>].

1. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, XXIII, pp. 261-73.

2. Forms not noted by myself are given within square brackets,

The more archaic forms, found in Gauro, have also been preserved in Palola, a dialect spoken in Ashred and other villages in Southern Chitral, and closely related to Sh., and its offshoot Savi, from the Kunar valley near Asmar. *cf. e.g.* Pal. 1 dat **asām**. 2 nom. **tus**, dat. **tusām**.

In Sh., and connected dialects, too, the development of **-šm-** differs from that of **-š-**, which generally remains. Likewise in Torwali and Bashkarik (= Garwi), the westernmost dialects where the type ***tušma-** is found, the forms are **twa** (< ***tuha**) [Stein **tō**, **thō**], and **tha**. But *e.g.* Torw. [**muš**] (prob. = **mūš**) 'mouse', **paış** 'mother-in-law', Bashk. **muš**, **čiš**, and **čā's** 'flea' (< ***praš-**), *cf.* Torw. **kəşən**, Bashk. **kīšin** 'black' < **kršna-**. In fact, in no Dardic dialect does **š n** result in **ś**, and the development to **s**, **h** can scarcely have passed through a stage ***śś**.

The **sm** of **asma-** becomes **m** in Torw **mā**, Bashk. **mā**; and among all the dialects further west. Prasun is the only one which presents the development **sm > s**.

In most of the Western Dardic dialects we find **sm > s**. Thus Dameli' 1 obl. **amā**, Gawar Bati **amā** 'we' Kalasha **hāma**, **hōma** (abl.) Kati **emo**, Waigeli **amī**, **yāmī**, Ashkun **ima**, Pashai (h) **amā** etc., Tirahi **mā**.

To a great extent the same dialects have also **m < *šm***: Dam. **myā** 'you' (obl.), G. B. **mā**, Kal. **memi**, **mīmī** (obl.), Ashk. **yūm - ba** (gen. ; one sub-dialect has nom. **yā**). Pashai **ima**, (h) **emā**, **myā**, **mōmā**, Pras. **muū**, **mfu**.

Ashk. is the only dialect which, if appearances do not deceive, has preserved the **y-** of **yušma-**. But **myā**, **mīū**, **mā**, **mō mī**, **ima** etc. must probably be derived from ***ymā**, syncopated from ***yum** (h) **ā**. **h** is not a Kafiri sound, so it is very doubtful whether **šm** (**sm**) in these dialects has passed through a stage ***mh**.

1. Dam. is a dialect with Kafiri affinities which is spoken in one village in Southern Chitral, near Arandu.

2. Or ***sm**. In Kafiri **us** apparently did not become **uś**.

Kati *šo* 'you' is very difficult to explain. A derivation from **šya* (or **syā*) < **šmya-* (*šmya*) < **y(u)šma-* (**yusma-*) seems possible. But it would presuppose either a preservation of *šm* (*sm*) till after the contraction of **yušma-* > **yšma-* > **šmya-* had taken place, or a development of *šm* (*sm*) to **š* (*s*) in this word, while *sm* resulted in *m* in 'emo' (*we*)¹. Another possible derivation would be from **yūša-* (*yūša-*) > **ysa-* etc.

N. W. Pashai *mōmā*, Kal. *mēmī*, *mīmī* seem to have been formed through reduplication, in order to obtain the same number of syllables as *hamā*, and *hāma*, *hōma* 'we'.

Prasun, the most isolated among the Kafir dialects, has *s* < *sm* in nom. *śś* 'we'. gen. *as* cf. *e. γ*. Mahrāṣṭrī nom. *amhe*, gen. *amha* (*m*). 2 gen. *as-ea* might possibly be derived from **usma-*, cf. Singh. *umba*, *oba*, explained in this manner by H. Smith (l. c. p. 272). I cannot make any guess at the origin of the suffix -*en*; But Munji *mox* 'we' (**ahmaxam*), *mof* 'you' (**(yušmašya)*) show how different case endings can be utilized for the purpose of distinguishing between the 1 and 2 pl., when the stems have become homonymous.

But Pras. *mīu* 'you' with *m* < *šm*, and original *y-* is difficult to reconcile with an eventual development of *as-* < **usma-*. On the other hand, *mīu* can scarcely be borrowed. At any rate none of dialects adjoining Pras. present a similar form.

Khowar, which is the dialect where the development of *śv*, *šv* into *sp*, *šp* has been carried out with the greatest regularity, has *ispa* 'we' < **spa* < *asma*².

(1) A development *šm* > *s* is not probable. Kati *garīš*, Ashk. *gerés*, Waig. *garášš* 'midday' cannot, as proposed by Bloch (l. c. p. 263), be derived from *grīšma*, which would result in Kali **gr'īš*, Ashk. M. **glīš*, or similar forms. *garīš* etc. < **gha ašya-* cf. Khow. *grāniš*, Pash L. *lyenī* < **ghraṇašya-*, formed from I. E. **g^hhoros*, and *g^hhrenes-* (cf. Skr. *ghraṇsa-* 'heat of the sun', Breton *groez* < **g^hhrens-* etc.). **ghraṇašya-* might possibly result in Kati **gr'īš* > **gər'īš* but not in *garīš*.

(2) Wakhi (i) *spā* 'our' has been borrowed from Khow.

There remains a number of forms containing **v** (**w**) and **b**.

The **bē** 'we' of Shina, Palola, and the dialects of the Indus Kohistan, Bloch (l. c. p. 264) 'hésite a faire remonter à **bhe** attesté (assez mal, il est vrai——) en prakrit, et remontant hypothétiquement à ***ambhe**'. This hesitation is well founded. The coexistence of **be** < *(**am**)**bhe** < ***asme**, and **as-** < **asma-** in the same dialect would be surprising, and, besides, Palola regularly preserves the aspiration of mediae. On the other hand, a derivation from **vayam** is phonetically legitimate, and several Prkrkit dialects have 1 pl. nom. **vayam** etc., while generalizing the base ***tusma-** in the 2 pl.

But Shumashti ¹ **āb** 'we' cannot be derived from **vayam**, but probably from ***a(m)bhe**. The obl. bases, **ama** and **ima**, have been borrowed from Pashai. Kalasha **ābi** 'we' one is inclined to explain in the same manner. The loss of aspiration in intervocalic position is not impossible in Kal². Besides, there is a possibility of ***ābhe** and ***bē** having been contaminated.

The different treatment of ***mb** in **ābi** 'we', and **hama** 'us' may, perhaps, be due to an original difference of accent, ***ámhe** (**ám-he**?) resulting in **ámbe** > **āb(h)i**, and ***ambā-** (**anhā-?**) in (**h**)**amā**. At any rate a derivation of **ābi** from **vayam** seems to be excluded.

If the explanation proposed is correct, **ābi** 'you' in its turn ought to be derived from ***umbhe**. But Kal. is not so eccentric in its vowel changes as Prasun, and the development **u-** > **ā-** seems very strange.

1. Shumashti is spoken in a side-valley of the lower Kunar, and is surrounded by Pashai dialects, by which it has been influenced. Its nearest affinities are with Gawar Bati; but the personal pronouns differ in the two dialects.

2. I know no certain instance of the treatment of aspirated mediae in a similar position in Kal. Neither **gūhum** 'wheat', nor **jip** 'tongue' present exactly the same phonetical conditions as **ābi**.

The homophony between Kal *ābi* 'we' and *ābi* 'you' can be tolerated in the nom., where the verb will show which person is meant. In the oblique cases we find the two distinct bases *hamā* and *mēmī*.

Khowar *bisa* 'you' is the more archaic form. The more usual *pisa* has probably got its *p* from *ispa*¹. These forms cannot be derived from *yusma-*, which would have resulted in Khow. **iṣpa*. *bisa* points to **bisa* < **v(a)sa*. Bloch (l. c. p. 266) has shown that an initial labial in some cases dissimilates a following *sm* into *ss*, and it is possible that **vasma-* (formed on the analogy of *asma-*, with the initial of *vah*), **vusma-* resulted in **vas(s)a*, while *asma-* developed into **aspa-*.

Shumashti nom. 2 pl. *vī* must be derived from an older form **vē*. In this dialect ancient *vi-* becomes *i* (*isi* '20', *ire* 'man'), but *vē* > *vī* (*vīu* 'willow'). Now several Dard dialects present traces of the development of *-as* into *-e*, known also from the dialect of the Kharoshtī inscriptions². Waig. *se*, Torw. *sē*. Shumashti etc. *ase* 'that', are probably derived from **sas*. Consequently *vī* can be derived from **vas*. Regarding the use of the enclitic pronoun for the nom., cf. Parachi *wā* 'you'.

Ashk., Waig. *vī*, Dam. *bi* 'you' (nom.) must be explained in the same way. All these dialects belong to the same geographical area as Shum. In Dam *v-* regularly becomes *b-*. The genitives in the various Waig. dialects are: *vāmā*, *imbā* - *ivimbā* (*-bā* being the suffix of the gen.). Here, perhaps, a contamination of the types **yumhe* and **ve* (< **vas*) may have taken place.

In Dam. the 1 sg. *ai* is used for the pl., too. The reason for this may be a wish to avoid a homophony between **bi* 'we' and *bi* 'you'. In Tirahi the sg. *tu* is used for the 2 pl.³ but the 1 pl. is *mā* < **ahmā-*.

(1) Or dialectically **psa* < **bisa*?

(2) Konow, CIL. II, I, p. CXII.

(3) Or *tu* < *tuh* < *tus*?

The suggestions offered here regarding the derivation of the personal pronouns 1 and 2 pl. in the Dardic and Kafir dialects do not pretend to solve all the difficulties. In many, perhaps in most cases, the lack of material from older stages of the development of these dialects does not permit us arrive at any certain conclusions, and too much remains mere guess work. Still I hope that these pages may contribute a little to the knowledge of a most interesting group of Aryan languages, for the study of which Sir George Grierson has laid the firm foundation.

The following table gives a survey of the forms appearing in the Dardic dialects of the personal pronouns, 1 and 2 pl. The arrangement is approximately geographical. The forms of the 1 pl. in each dialect are given in the first line, those of the 2 pl. in the second. Where distinct bases for the nom. and oblique bases exist, the nom. is given first. Dialect forms are put within brackets.

Prasun	Kati	Kalasha	Khovar	Shina	Gilg.
ásō, as	emo	ābi, hōma, (hāma)	ispa	[bē, áso]	
mīū, asen	šo	ābi, mīmī, memi	pisa, (hisa)	[tsho]	
Ashkun		Waigeli			
ima, imba, (imōa)		amī, (yūmū), amebə, (yōmō, yamumbə)			
vī, (yū), yūmba		vī (ivī), vāmə (imbū, ivimbə)			
Palola		Gawro			
be, asim		be, asē			
tus, tusim		tus, tusē			
Pashai N. W.	Pashai N. E.	Shumashti	Gawar Bati	Dameli	
hamā	ama	ābə, ama	amō	ai, amā	
mōmā	ima	vī, ima	mē	bi, myā	
Bashkarik		Maiyē		Chilis	
mā		[be, zā]	[be, azā]		
tha		[tus, sā]	[tus, tsā]		
Pashai W.	Pashai E.	Tirahī	Torwalik	Kashmirī	
amā	hamā	mā [ao, mēn]	ma [mō]	[as']	
myā	hēmā	tu [tao]	twa [t(h)ō]	tōh'	

THE OLDEST GRAMMAR OF HINDUSTANI.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

§ 1. Johannes Josua Ketelaer, who was born at Elbingen in Prussia and served in India under the Dutch East India Company during the first two decades of the 18th century, wrote, in Latin, the first grammar of Hindustani. The exact date when the work was prepared is not known; it was published from Leyden in 1743, being incorporated in a volume of dissertations on Mohammedan, Biblical and other oriental subjects written and edited by David Mill (Millius),—but it was evidently written before 1716 when Ketelaer went to Persia, where he died. The tentative date suggested for the work is c. 1715.

§ 2. Signor Emilio Teza first brought the work to the notice of modern scholars, in January 1895, when he read a paper ('*Dei primi Studi delle Lingue indostaniche alle note di G. A. Grierson*') before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, supplementing the article which Sir George A. Grierson wrote on the 'Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe' which appeared in the JASB. for 1893, Part I. In the proceedings of the ASB. for May 1895, an abstract of Signor Teza's paper was given by Sir George, in which he included a note on the life of Ketelaer by W. Irvine. Signor Teza evidently had not seen Ketelaer's book, but he had found a mention of it in the Preface of the Hindustani Grammar by B. Schultze, published from Halle in Saxony in 1744; and Ketelaer's Version of the Lord's Prayer in Hindustani quoted by Teza (and then by Sir George) seems also to have been taken from Schultze. In the LSI., Vol. IX (Western Hindi and Panjabi), pp 6-8, the biographical note on Ketelaer has been given, together with a brief account of Mill's work and Ketelaer's Grammar, some peculiarities of which have been noted by Sir George. The Lord's Prayer as translated by Ketelaer has also been reproduced, in which one or two misprints have crept in. This is the fullest description of the work I have seen.

§ 3. The value of the work of Ketelaer in studying the development of Hindustani is quite apparent. The formation of Hindustani is one of the yet unsolved problems of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics. Ketelaer's grammar is a rare document giving an early observer's record of a current form of the language while it was still in a fluid stage. European missionary and commercial activity working under the stimulus received from the spirit of curiosity roused by the Renaissance, had naturally to take into note the languages of the land, in India and elsewhere. Already in the 17th century grammars of Tamil and Goanese were written and published by the Portuguese missionaries. Bengali seems also to have been studied with some care during that century; but the first grammar and vocabulary of the language to see the light was that by Padre Manoel da Assumpção, which appeared in 1743 from Lisbon, in Portuguese and in the Roman character (a reprint of this grammar, with a Bengali translation, and with considerable extracts from the vocabulary, has been published by the Calcutta University under the joint-editorship of Mr. Priyaranjan Sen and myself). The first Hindustani grammar, going back to over two centuries from now, is well worth a detailed consideration.

§ 4. In 1921 while I was in England I was fortunate in accidentally securing at a second-hand bookseller's a copy of Mill's entire work (the full title of which is given in the LSI., IX, p. 7, and I do not repeat it), and this has enabled me to study Ketelaer's work. In addition to the Hindustani grammar (*De Lingua Hindustanica*, forming the first chapter, pp. 455-488, of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*), Ketelaer seems also to have been responsible for *three* Hindustani vocabularies in Mill's work. It may be mentioned that Ketelaer's authorship of the Hindustani grammar is acknowledged in Mill's Preface; and there mention is made of his writing the Hindustani miscellanies in the 'Belgic' idiom (Dutch is obviously meant) which were translated into Latin by Mill. The Hindustani grammar is followed by the 'Rudiments of the Persian Language of to-day, as in use in

Hindustan, and in the Courts of the Mohammadan Kings of India', forming Section I of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*. This grammar is a very short one (pp. 489–503) and in all likelihood it is from Ketelaer, too. Added to the grammar is a list of some 140 verbs (pp. 503–509) given in three columns, in Latin, Hindustani and Persian; and a vocabulary of some 650 words, in Latin, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic (pp. 510–598); and following this, forming Section II of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*, is a collection of what appeared to Ketelaer to be homonyms or slightly different words from Hindustani (pp. 599–601). This last should have come along with the Hindustan grammar, forming Chapter I of the Miscellany. The Persien and Arabic words are given in the Arabic character, but the Hindustani is everywhere in the Roman. In the above-mentioned quadrilingual vocabulary ('*Etymologicum Orientale Harmonicum*'), there is in the foot-notes a learned lexical and comparative commentary on the Arabic words which is evidently from Mill himself. Mill gives references to the occurrence of the Arabic words in the Arabic version of the Bible, and quotes Hebrew equivalents. In considering Ketelaer's work, these Hindustani vocabularies have also to be taken into account.

§ 5. Ketelaer's grammar begins with a note on the Devanagari Alphabet which is illustrated by a plate opposite p. 456, the text referring to the Devanagari letters in this plate by means of numerals written under them. The letters as reproduced in this plate are in a very indifferent hand, and are based on the script as employed in Western Hindustan and Rajputana. There is a heading—*Om śrī Gaṇeśai namaḥ*. Then follow from the second line the letters of the Devanagari script, with numbers under them for reference to the pronunciation given on the page opposite. The letters go on in the usual order, after the benedictory *om nama sīdhah*. The following forms are note-worthy,—*इ ई* for *i ī*, *उ ऊ* = *u ū*, *रि री लि ली* = *r ṛ ḷ ḷ*, and *ए ऐ ओ औ* for *e ai ō au*. The vowels end with *अं अः* (in the plate occurring as

अ वा:). The pronunciation as indicated seems to have been written down by some one with a very bad ear for foreign sounds and a worse way of representing them—it may be that Ketelaer himself was not responsible for it. For example अं अ: printed in the plate as अ वा: are indicated in the pronunciation tables as **ang gha** (for [ʌŋ ʌɦa] = **am ah**). This is how the pronunciation of the Devanagari letters is sought to be expressed:

क = **k** ('like keph of the Arabs'), ख = **k** ('like kaph of the Arabs'), ग = **gha** ('pronounce like غ of the Arabs'), घ = **dgja** ('like Arabic ج'—evidently the Egyptian value of ج was known to the writer), ङ = **nia**, च छ ज झ = **tgja, tscha, dhca, dgja**, ञ = **nia** ('does not differ from letter No. 6 = अ'), ट ठ ड ढ = **tha, tscha, dha, dhgja**, ण = **nrha** (this is an attempt to indicate the value of ण = ङ'), त थ द ध न = **ta, tha, dha, da, na**, प फ ब भ म = **pa, pha, ba, bham, ma**, य र ल व = **ja, ra, la, wa**, श ष स ह ङ = **sjang, k'cho, [sja, ha, lang** (the North Indian value of ष as **kh**, indicated as **k'cho**, is interesting to note), and ञ = **k'cha**. Then follow the consonant conjuncts with vowels—**pa, pā, pi, pl** etc. In two other plates the Devanagari letters are given again three times, with Roman transliterations along with the letters on the plates. In the plate opposite p. 458 are given the Devanagari letters twice, under headings *I. Devanagaram* and *II. Balabandu*, and they figure again in a following plate. *I. Devanagaram* is badly copied out for the plate, and uses ल for the ङ: this would seem to be taken from some North Indian paṇḍit. *II. Balabandu* evidently comes from *Mahārāṣṭra*, judging from the style of the letters. The two transcriptions in this plate differ from each other, and although the aspirates and the cerebrals have not been properly rendered, they are on the whole much better than the absurd equivalents given in the text. In this plate, अं अ: are transcribed as **am aha** (for [ʌm ʌɦa]) and ञ as **ttza** and **stshae** (for a छ = **ch** pronunciation). The last plate of Devanagari reproduces a beautiful Benares hand, and the transliteration is much better done, with the aspirates

properly differentiated from the pure stops by *h*; the values of the letters were taken down from a Bengali—perhaps an East Bengali pandit;—they are almost identical with the transliterations given for the Bengali letters (equally beautifully written and reproduced) in the plate following: in both of these, *হা ঞ ণ* are transcribed as *oua ya ana*, following the Bengali names of these letters [*ūwō, ijō, anō*], *চ ছ* as *sa sha* (or *scha*), corresponding to the East Bengali values [*tsō, sō*], *য* as *sja* (*i.e.* *ja*, Bengali pronunciation of *য* being *j*), *স* as *sha*, *ক* as *kha*, and *অঃ* as *ang ach* (in North India *অঃ* would be pronounced as *aha*). These various transcriptions of the Devanagari alphabet during the first half of the 18th century have some slight interest in New Indo-Aryan phonetics. In addition to the above, K.'s grammar includes another plate giving the *Lantsa* and Tibetan alphabets, as well as the Mongol equivalents of these, with Roman transliteration. These plates of alphabets, together with the notes and references in this introductory section,—it may be the entire section on the letters—seems to be Mill's addition; but K. might have brought the alphabets written on sheets of paper from India.

§ 6. The grammar proper begins from the third page of the work. There is nothing said about the pronunciation of Hindustani—the author seems to take it for granted that his Dutch values of the Roman letters are known to his readers, and he starts at once with the *Declinationes Linguae Hindustanicae*. K's attempt to render the Hindustani sounds he heard is quite interesting, and is not without significance in the study of Hindustani phonology.

§ 7. The *vowels* which K. heard seem to have been the same, or very much the same found in Hindustani of Western Hindustan.

ā is represented by *a* commonly, by *e* frequently and by *o* rarely: *e.g.* *sachti* (*saxti*), *bandoech* (*banduq*), *karta* (*kartā*); *tsjenga* (*enūgā*), *carros* (*xaraj*), *telle* (*talē*), *gea* (*gayā*), *der* (*dar*), *nenga*

(nangā), kesmet (xizmat, xidmat), benaje (banāi); koo mat (kabō mat), somsje (samjhe), etc. æ in hæddi (haddī), karromæt (karāmāt) etc. is exceptional.

§ 8. ā is represented by a, aa: beetha (beṭā), -ka (-kā), boedia (burhiyā) admi (ādmī), 'ank or anck (ākh), kja (kyā), kiswaste (kis wāstē); baab (bāp), maa (mā), nimaas (namāz), jaad (yād), peaar (pyār); etc. Exceptions are—ao in naom (nām), æ in gæli (gālī), ay in kay tsjoeke (khā cukā), boeray (burā; or ? burā'i), auw in derriauw (daryā), o in karromæt (karāmāt). Finally, -ā is often denoted by -e or -æ, especially in the verb forms: *e. g.* degge (dagā), poeranne (purānā), teere (terah, 13) beside teera (terā = thy), me packerte (maī pakartā), me pastste (maī puchta) me dounte (maī ḍhūrhtā), ayæ hocæ (āyā hū'ā), etc.

§ 9. i = i, rarely ie: gin (√gin), sicheghe (sikhēgā, sikhūgā), tiesra dien (tisrā din); in duwanna (diwāna), we have u for i. [ie, is often written as je especially at the end of a word].

i = ie, also i : tier (tīr), darie (dārī), nietsje (nīce), alamgiere ('alam-gīrī); teeri (terī), patsjayi (pātšābī), etc. In a few instances it seems finally -e indicates -ī: *e. g.* alamgiere ('alamgīrī). Final -ī also = y (*i. e.* ii): bhay (bhāī), koy (kōī), dsjamway (jawāī), boeray (burāī).

§ 10. u is represented by u, o and oe, and ū generally by oe: sust (sust), poeranne (purānā), bod (but), moft (muft), Godda (xudā), hunga (hūngā) poeroeb (pūrub for pūrab), pokkar (pukār), dajoeroe (jōru), toesjæ (tujhē), boellonga (bhuluṅgā), etc. The digraph oe (= u, ū) is peculiarly Dutch.

§ 11. ē is generally indicated by ee, also by e : beethase (beṭā-sē for beṭe-sē), teei (tel), andeer (andher), deete (dētā), tsjyē (cāhiyē) etc. Transcriptions like toesjæ (tujhē), with æ for ē, are exceptional.

§ 12. ō is indicated by oo, also by o: dhoobi (dhōbī), doost (dōst), toop (tōp), ankkon (ākh-kō), gorra (ghōrā), me dsjoetboltetha

(maī jhūṭh bōltā thā), tsjoori (cōrī), koo (kahō), soo (sō'ō), hougea (ho gayā), etc. We have *oe* in dsjoeroe (jōrū), Cf. auw, kauw' dsjauw = āō, khāō, jāō.

§ 13. * From the frequent use of *e* and *o* for short *i* and *u*, it is likely that these short values of *e* and *o* were actually heard: *e.g.* tommare (tumbārā), sāheb (sāhib), goelam beside gola.nmi (gulām, gulāmi), hoekem (hukm).

§ 14. *ai*: it seems that K. heard the modern sound of [æ] or [æ̃], and this he indicated by *e*, *ey*, *æ* and also in a weak position by *a*: *e.g.* me (maī), he (hai), medda (maidā), peyssa (paisā), beth, betth (baith), kensch (khaīc), sethan (šaitān), paedda (paidā); ghoebba (xub hai), bhel (bail), kapprel (kha.prail), innekom pakker-taja (inhē kō or inkō pakartā hai), etc.

§ 15. *au*: the modern values of [ɔ] or [ɔ̃] seems to be indicated by K.'s transcriptions *o*, *oo* and *ou*: kon (kaun), tsjockje (caukī 'watch'), oor (aur) loondi (laundī), tsjoute (cauthā), bathoris (=bathaurī), doure (daurō), etc.

§ 16. The present day Hindustani modification of vowels—especially of *ā*—in connexion with a following *h* seems also to have characterised the language heard by K. The group *ah* then as now = [æ]: *e.g.* bhen (bahin: the pronunciation heard by K. was probably [b'ɛ:n]), pelle (pahilā), dhaina haat beside dana haat (for [dæhna: ʃa:th] = dahinā hāth), penne (pahinē), ney (nahī), tsjoeprea (cūp rahā), ree (rahe), (but cf. ro = rah, imperative 2 sg.), reena (rahāā), gerra (gahrā, gahirā) etc. In *tejyé*, *tsjeyte* we have doubtless an attempt to represent *cāhiyā*, *cāhtā* [ɕ]æ̃ie, [ɕ]æ̃ta], which we after hear for *cāhiye*, *cāhtā*. Cf. also *merwan* = *mihrwān*.

§ 17. Loss of vowel: an unaccented short vowel is often dropped: brabber (bārābar), frusta for *frista (fōrišta), ghlas (xālās), bras (bāras).

The converse process of vowel insertion also is noticed: boellana (bhulnā), isseka (iskā), innekon (inkō).

§ 18. Nasalised vowels: at times the nasalisation is dropped, but generally there is an attempt to indicate it by an *n*: *me* (*maɪ*, also *mē*), *haestə* (*hāstā*), *ghawar* beside *gemaer* (*gāwār*); *oenth* (*ūt*), *ontsjata* (*īūcatā* = 'height'), *ank* or *anck* (*ākh*), *oanse* (*wahā-sē*); the propositions *-kon*, *-son* (*-kō*, *-sō*), *aandhoe* (*āru* = 'juvencus'), *kenschna* (*khaīcnā*), etc Cf. *bhaina haat* = *bāyā hāth*.

§ 19 The consonants are those now found in Hindustani. The foreign sounds of *q*, *x*, *f* and *z* seem already to have been commonly heard—at least in court circles—for K. attempts to indicate them. The case of *q* is not so sure, and it is quite likely that ordinarily *k* was substituted for it.

k is denoted usually by *k*, and frequently by *kk* and *ek*; e. g. *kaam* (*kām*), *kar* (*kar*), *akkele* (*akelā*), *hockum* (*hukm*), *lackrie* (*lakrī*), *poekkar* or *pokkar* (*pukār*), *-kon* (*-kō* = *-kō*), *tjoeke* (*cukā*), *paak* (*pāk*), *karnekon* (*karne kō*), *uska* (*uskā*). Cf. *taxier* = *taksir* (for *taqsir*).

kh, the Indian aspirate, presented a difficulty to K. Usually he writes *k*, specially initially; but *kh*, and even *kgh* are employed, as well as *kk* and *ch* (the value of the last was [x], the velar fricative). Thus *-kapprel* (*khaprail*), *rak* (*rakh*), *rakkena* (*rakhnā*), *sukka* (*sukhā*), *dichaya*, *sichaya* (*dikh*, *sikh*), *khaoungə* (*khāūgā*), *kghattə* (*khātā*), *kaytsjoeke* (*khā cukā*), *duchie* (*dukhi* = sick), *kensch* (*khaīc*). In *raag* (*rākh* = ashes), we have *g* with the usual Dutch value of [x] for *kh*.

g is usually transcribed by *g*: *girre* (*girā*), *gied* (*gīt*), *gautatha* (*gāwtā thā* = *gātā thā*), *dilgien* (*dilgīn*), *gonn* (*gunāh*). *g* certainly had the present value of an unvoiced spirant *g* - [g], or [x]—in Dutch of the 18th century, as we can see from the treatment of [x] in Hindustani words (see below). To represent the stop sound with this spirant *g* of Dutch, it offered some difficulties to Ketelaer. In one instance we have the use of *ch* - [x] for *g*: *jachte-jāgtā*: here the use of *j* (which has the sound of *y* in Dutch) for the palatal fricative (= *j* as in English) also is inexplicable.

g is sometimes represented by **gh**: **ghir** beside **gir** (**gīr**), **ghai** (**gāē**), **ghawar** besides **gemaer** (**gāwār**), **gherden** (**gardan**), **nagh** (**āg**), **me sicheghe** (**maī sikhēgā** for **sikhūngā**). The interchange between aspirates and unaspirated stops is exceedingly common in **K**, who seems to have appreciated the difference, but could not always successfully note them, and frequently made mistakes. See note below, under § 37.

For **gh**, **K**. uses **g**: **gora** (**ghōrā**), **gaas** (**ghāe**); also **gh**, *e.g.* **ghe**, (**ghar**) beside **ger**.

For the guttural nasal **ñ**, occurring in Hindustani only before (**h**) and **g(h)**, **n** is employed: **ank** or **anck** (**ākh**), **hassonga** (**bāsegā**, **kbāsūngā**), **tsjenga** (**caṅgā**), etc. Final **ñg** = **ngh**, as in **reng** (**raṅg**), **sing** (**siṅg**).

§ 20. The foreign sound of **q** might have been heard, but it could not have been common: it would seem that [**k**], or [**x**] was substituted for it in India, at least among the people in some parts. We have no attempt at consistency: *e.g.* **khalm** (**qalam**), **nachara** (**naqqāra**), **bandoëch** (**banduq**), **ghasie** (= **xāzī**, for **qāzī**) **wacht** (**waqt** : **vaxat** for **waqt** is common in the Panjab), **carres karres** (**qarz**), **kanuna** (**qānūn**) etc.

Hindustani seems to have already adopted the foreign sound of [**x**], and Ketelaer has taken pains to indicate it. He uses **g** (with its Dutch value of [**x**]), **gh** and **ch**, as well as **k** for this sound: *e.g.* **godda** (**xudā**), **gesmet** beside **ghesmet** and **kesmet** (**xizmat**, **xidmat**), **ghallie** (**xālī**), **ghoen** (**xun**), **ghabber** (**xabr**), **chartsjeraa** (**xarc ē-rāh**), **biandighanna** (**baudīxāna**), **ghossjali** (**xuś-bālī**), **sachtie** (**saxtī**), **dosek** (**duzax**), **baksnese** (**baxšne-se**), etc. The spelling **Godda** = **xudā** may have been partly due to Ketelaer's fancied connexion with the Dutch word **God** [= **xod**].

[**g**]: this sound would seem not to have been common—probably it was pronounced, as now, as **g**, except among learned circles. Ketelaer writes **g**: **golami**, **goelam** (**gulāmī**, **gulām**) **garieb** (**garīb**), **deggabasi** (**dagābāzī**), **deggas** (**dagā**), **tsjogglie** (**cuglī**), **morga**, **morgi** (**morgā**, **muglī**), etc.

§ 21. *c, ch, j, jh* presented difficulties to K., and we find a number of curious devices employed. For *c*, we have usually *tsj* (*i.e.* *tṣ*), but *tsch* (as in German), *ts*, *sch* and *s* are also used: *tsjockjedaar* (*caukṣḍār*), *moetsje* (*mūṣṣ*), *tsitter* (*cittar*, *citr* = *citra*), *mirritsch* (*miric*), *kenschte*, *kenste* (*khaṣṭā*), *tsijand* (*cand*), etc. *tsjettia* = *tsjettja* (*caccā*) shows the Dutch use of *tj* for *c*.

ch is represented by *tsj* (like *c*), as well as *ts*, *s*: *poetsjonga* (*puchūṅgā*, *puchegā*), *tsjorre* (*chorā*), *poetste* (*puchtā*), *tsjoekna* for *tsjokra* (*chōkrā*), *tsjinaal* (*chināl*), *ries* (*rīch*), *t'sjain* (*chāṣ* = *Skt. chāyā*), etc.

j—by *dsj* (the proper way, = *dṣ*), and by *sj*, *ds*, *dz*, *dj*, and *s*: *e.g.* *dsjieve* (*jīw*, *jī*), *dsjieuw* (*jibh*), *dsjate* (*jātā*), *ne dsante* (*na jāntā*), *dzamah* beside *dsjamma* (*jāma*), *sjawaab* (*jawāb*), *sjad* (*jad*), *sjagghe* (*jāgāh*), *sjoanna* (*jawānā*), *madzmaa* (*majmu'a*), *dzaladie* (*jaldī*), *wadzudi* (*wajūdī*), *hadjam* (*hajjām*), *pāssieste* (*paṣṣījtā*) etc. Quite contrary to Dutch (and continental) pronunciation is the use of *j* in *jokoy* (*jō kōī*), *jachte* (*jāgtā*) and *jutte* (*jutā*).

jh: *dsj*, *s* are used: *dsjoet* (*jhuṭh*), *somsje* (*samjhe*), *boos* (*bōjh*) *toesj88* (*tujhe*).

§ 22. Ketelaer has not been able to distinguish, at least in his transliteration, between the cerebrals and the dentals: and the aspirates and pure stops are also confused. Thus—*tapoe* (*tāpū*), *rootie* (*rōṣṣ*), *pethie* (*peṭṣ*), *koetonga* (*kuṭuṅgā*), *koethena* (*kuṭnā*), *tookrie* (*tōkrī*), *beetha* (*beṭā*), *moetha* (*mōṭā*); *djoet* (*jhuṭh*), *beth*, *betth* (*baiṭh*), *oethoute* (*uṭhautā* = *uṭhātā*); *dhoeba* (*dubā*), *der* (*ḍar*), *tidda* (*ṭiddā*); *dounte* (*dhūrhtā*), *loondi* (*laundī*), etc.

§ 23. *r ṛh*, derived from intervocal and final single *ṛ*, *ḍh*—the so-called cerebral *r* and its aspirate—are represented in a number of ways: *lerreghe* (*laṛegā*), *dourr* (*daur*), *karwa kerwa* (*karwā*), *barra* (*barā*), *toorte* (*torṭā*), *garriwan* (*gāriwān*), *aandhoe* (= 'juvencus', *āṛū*), *raand* (*rāṛ*), *gora* (*ghōṛā*), (beside *gorra*), *cerre* (*saṛā*); *boedia* (*buṛhiyā*), *boedha* (*buṛhā* or *buḍḍhā*), *lackrie*

(lakṛī), orrhega orre orrhena (ōṛhēgā, ōṛhā, ōṛhnā), darie (dārī), etc.

§ 24. The dental *t th d dh* are represented by *t th d dh*, but there is interchange of the aspirated and non-aspirated forms in Ketelaer's transliteration: *tom* (*tum*), *tier* (*tīr*), *doost* (*dōst*), *touttha* (*tuthiyā*), *haat* (*hāth*), *tha* (*thā*), *tannadaar* (*thānādār*), *patter* (*patthar*), *hathonie* for *hathorie* (*hathauṛī*), *mothie* (*mōṭī*), *koettha* (*kuttā*), *batthie* (*battī*), *hatti* (*hāthī*), *deete* (*dētā*), also *dithe*, *faidah* (*fā'ida*), *andeer* (*andhēr*), *gedde* (*gaddhā, gadbhā*) (also *gheddhā*), *koedhe* (*kūde*), *dhimer* (*dhīmar*), *dooe* (*dhōwā*), *dhoed* (*dūdh*), *dhoela dhoelen* (*dulhā dulhan*), *doel* (*dhul*), *ghido* (= *gīdh*), *dhee* (*deh* = *body*), etc. etc.

n is represented by *n* (in printing, frequently *n* has been put in for *r*): *nischan* (*niṣān*), *gonna* (*gunah*), *noen* (*nūn*, dialectal for *lōn* = *salt*), etc.

§ 25. *p ph b bh*: there is confusion between pure stops and aspirates: *parwet* (*parwat* = *parbat*), *peyssa* (*paissā*), *kappra* (*kaprā*), *pethie* (*peṭī*), *oepper* (*upar*), *patsjayi* (*pātśāhī*); *pharte* (*phārtā*), *phergte* for *phengte* (*phēktā*), *phitkeri* (*phitkārī*), *poslaute* (*phuslāwtā* = *phuslātā*); *beetha* (*betā*), *baab* (*bāp*), *bod* (*but*), *boed* (*bhūt*), *bhay* (*bhāī*), *boelle* (*bhulē*), *gabroe* (*gabhrū*), etc. The use of *v* in *dsjieuv* = *jībh* is curious. For *m*, the transliteration is *m*: *maa* (*mā*), *kham* (*kham*), *sjamidaan* (*śama'dān*), etc.

§ 26. *f* occurs in words of non-Indian origin, and K. writes them *f*, differentiating from the native *ph*. Examples are copious. In one place it seems we have *f* for *ph* in a native word: *tajolte serte* for *tajelte ferte* = *caṭṭā phirtā*. In court circles at least, *f* seems to have become established.

§ 27. *y* is indicated by *j—jaad* (*yād*) *kjon* (*kyō*), *gaija* (*gāiyā* = *gāyā*) and by *y—sichaya* (*sikhāyā*); cf. *tsjyē* = *cāhiyē* for *cāhiyē*.

§ 28. *r* and *l* are represented by *r* and *l*, sometimes doubled: *beakarre* (*byāh karē*), *sjullaab* (*julāb*), *gullaab* (*gulāb*), etc.

§ 29. Hindustani **w** is represented by **w** and **v**, and **uw**: **lakriewala** (**lakṛīwālā**), **haweli** (**hawēlī**), **hauwa** (**hawā**), **dsjieve** (**ḍīw = ḍī**), **karwā** (**kaṛwā**), **meyuwa** (**mēwa**), **auwe** (**āwe**), **ewwel** (**awwal**), **mervan** (**mīhrwān**), **khavig89** (**khāwēgā**); **oceanse** = **wahḥsē**, **soorrauri** = **zōrāwarī**, give **oe** and **u** for **wa**. A nasalised **w** is indicated by **mw** and by **w**: **dsjamway** (**jāwāe** = son-in-law), and **ghawar** beside **gemaer** (**gāwār**). After **-ā** in certain forms, a **w** sound occurred in Ketelaer's time: this is dropped now: e.g. **kauéna** (= **khāwēnā**, now **khānā**), **me gauta tha** (**mai gāwtā thā** for **gātā thā**), **gaawena** (**gāwēnā**, cf. Bengali **gāonā**, for **gānā**), **auwena dsjauwena** (= **āwēnā**, **jāwēnā** = **ānā jānā**), etc. The groups **wōh**, **wē** are represented by **whe**.

✓ § 30. **s**: the following will illustrate K.'s transliteration: **isseka** (**iskā**), **parooje** (**paṛōṣī**), **tisra** (**tisrā**), **soei** (**sūī**), **cissa** (**sīṣā**), **peysa** (**paīsā**), **circa** (**sirka**), **cir** (**sir**, **sar**), **cerre** (**saṛā**), **doost** (**dōst**), **hasse** (**hāṣē**), etc. etc. ✓

The word **sac** (= true) occurs as **tjets** and as **tsjets**: did this simple form prove a jaw-breaker for Ketelaer?

✓ **z** was no doubt naturalised in Standard Hindustani, certainly in court circles. K. indicates it by **s**, rarely by **z**: **kesmet** (**xizmat**, **xiḍmat**, **xidmat**), **nimaas** (**namāz**), **tierendaas** (**tīrandāz**), **dosek** (**duzax**), **soorrauri** (**zōrāwarī**); **hazaar** (**hazār**), **darāzje** (**darāzī**), **filsoos** (**fīlsōz** = **fatīlsōz**), **dzazia** (**jīzya**).

§ 31. **š** does not belong to the sound system of Vernacular or Prakritic Hindustani—it was an imposition from without, from Persian, reinforced by Sanskrit. K. seeks to indicate it by **sj** and **sch**, but often writes simple **s**: **sjamidaan** (**šama'dān**), **patsjayi** (**pātšāhī**), **baksnese** (**baxšne se**), **nischān** (**nišān**), **na'āsch** (**nālīš**), **ghosjali** (**xuš-hālī**), **baxus** (**baxšīš**), **sahanai** (**šahnāī**) etc

✓ § 32. **h**: the Arabic **ḥ** [**ḥ**], pharyngeal sound (unvoiced fricative) had fallen together with the Hindustani **h** (voiced glottal fricative), and this Hindustani sound is initially represented by

h: *hass-* (*hās-*), *haat* (*hāth*), *hiera* (*hīrā*), *hatti* (*hāthī*), *hazaar* (*hazār*), *hadjam* (*hajjām*), *hockem*, -*um* (*hukm*), *he* (*hai*), etc. Medially and finally it is usually dropped: *bea* (*byāh*), *ghossjall* (*zuš-hālī*), *oceanse* (*wahš-sē*), *nanna jutte* (*nanhā jutā* = sandals) · *chartjeran* (= *xarc-š-rāh*), *pakkertaja* (*pakarṭā hai*), *sja* (*šāh*), *sja* (*syāhī*), *patsjayi* (*pātsāhī*), *loy* = *lou* (*lōhu*) etc. In this matter, it is clear that *K.*'s pronunciation was modified by that of the outlying dialects, by perhaps Gujarati. In *sahanai* (*šahnāī*), the *-h-* is retained, propped a vowel on either side. Final *h* (*hā-i-muxtafī* of Persian) is at times shown: *salselah* (*silsilā*), *hakmah* (*hakmah*), *faidah* (*fā'idā*), etc.

The loss of *h* in the middle of a word, with attendant modification of a preceding *a*, has been noted before (§ 16).

§ 33. ' = the Arabic sound of 'ayn (voiced laryngeal fricative —voiced form of *ḥ* [*ḥ*]) seems to have been ignored, as now: pronunciation of ' in Hindustani is found as an affectation among the educated classes. *K.* does not seek to indicate it in *malum* (*ma'lūm*), *dua* (*du'ā*), and in words like *ta'eta* (*tā'at*), *taalima* (*ta'lim*), *memaar* (*mima'r*), *madzmaa* (*majma'*), *saata* (*sā'at*), the *aa* obviously indicates a long *ā* sound. (The final *-a* in the above-indicated Arabic words is to be noted).

§ 34. A final *-t* and *-p* occasionally figure as *-d* and *-b*, following German and Dutch pronunciation of final voiced consonants as unvoiced: *bod* (*but*), *gied* (*gīt*), *haadse* for *haatse* (= *hāth sē*), *keamed* (*kiyāmat*), *boed* (*bhūt*), *baab* (*bāp*). Conversely there occur *ferriaat* (*faryād*), *madet* (*madad*), *mart* (*mard*).

§ 35. In *doen-* (= *dhūrḥ*) and *phergte* = *phengte* (*phēṅktā*) we have assimilation of a following consonant to a preceding nasal.

§ 36. Ketelaer frequently doubles consonants: -*oepper* (*upar*) *moessaffer* (*musāfir*), *brabber* (*barabar*), *telle* (*tale*), *aggi* (*āgē*), *dsjennā* (*janā* = 'born'), *hassaab* (*hisāb*), *gonna* beside *gona* (*gunāh*), *karringe* (*kareṅgē*), *reddi* for *neddi* (*nadī*; also found as *naddī* in Hindustani), *passarie* (*pasārī*), *Kissān* (*kisān*), *jutte* (*jutā*), *-wallā* (*-wālā*), etc.

The doubling in Hindustani is as often correctly represented as not:—**dejoemma** (jummā), **batthie** (battī), **taitter** (cittar = citra); but **matie** (macchī), **iset** (izzat) do not show doubling.

§ 37. The above, in which words are taken both from the grammar and the vocabularies, indicates the character of the transliteration occurring in Ketelaer, with its phonetic and phonological implications. The third list of words gives some Hindustani vocables which appeared to Ketelaer (as a German and Dutch speaker) to be difficult to distinguish from similar words. He appreciated the semantic value of the aspiration of stops, but his frequent inability to distinguish the aspirated and the unaspirated sounds in his transcription, which has been indicated before, might partly be due to his being more familiar with a Gujarati habit of employing the glottal stop for the aspirate. He distinguishes between **bāg** 'garden', **bāgh** 'tiger' and **bhāg!** 'flee!', but writes them respectively as **baagh**, **bhagh**, **bag**, putting the aspirate in the wrong place in the last two words; and he gives as similar words **dhaal** (dhāl = 'shield'), **daal** (dāl) = 'pulses', and **dall** (dhal = low ground); **dharie**, elsewhere printed as **darie** (dārī) and **darroe** (dāru).

§ 38. From his grammar, it is plain that Ketelaer does not describe the standard Hindustani language. His is a popular *Lingua Franca* which he seems to have first picked up at Surat, and then probably he improved his knowledge of it during his stay at Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Here, too, he could have got the best Hindustani only in the royal entourage, the local dialects (except at Delhi) being forms of *patois* differing considerably from Standard Hindustani. Ketelaer became familiar with some of the special grammatical forms of Hindustani, but his grammar shows he could not use them, he was largely content with the *Bāzār* dialect with which he managed. His knowledge of the common grammatical forms of this, too, was not very deep; and his stay at Surat did not help him to retain any correctness of his Hindustani, if he had at all acquired it in the north. At times it looks as if he

wanted to compensate his want of positive knowledge by theorising. The grammar that he could prepare is very meagre indeed, and wanting in both completeness and system. It is based rather on the haphazard notes of a busy man of the position of Ketelaer, than on a scholar's detailed and leisurely study. Local Gujarati influence from Surat is noticeable—in the treatment of the **-h** in the interior of words (*e.g.*, forms like **bhen=bahin**, **pelle=pahila**, **gher=ghar**, in the use of **āp-** for the first personal pronoun (already noticed in the LSI., IX, p. 8), in the use of **-ṅā** for the future 2nd and 3rd persons (see below, § 45) and in a few words which have non-Hindustani forms (*e.g.*, **ghido = gldh**).

§ 39. *The Declension of the Noun in Ketelaer.*

The two genders masculine and feminine are recognised, but Ketelaer ignores the feminine form of the genitive and the adjective, and he does not give anywhere the feminine forms of the verb. He notes, however, the pronominal genitives **meeri**, **teeri**, **hammari**, **tommari** (= **mērī**, **terī**, **hamārī**, **tumhārī**) inqualifying feminine nouns, in a special paragraph under pronouns. He writes—**rootie hammare**, **uska londi** (= **rōṭī hamārī**, **uskī laundī**) etc. This non-recognition of the feminine forms of the genitive, the adjective and the verb is an important characteristic of *Bāsār* Hindustani outside the Western Hindi area.

For the number, Ketelaer gives rightly the nominative plural form of the masculine **-ā** nouns (= **-ē**) and of feminine nouns ending in a consonant (**-ṛ**). But in other nouns he gives plural forms not found in present day Hindustani. He ignores the oblique case for **-ā** nouns, and his use of the oblique for the plural is peculiar. It is clear that Ketelaer wanted to reduce his Hindustani declension to a system—nouns in **-ā**, nouns in **-ī**, nouns in **-ū**, nouns in consonants, both masculine and feminine—and merely supplied a regular set of inflexions which had some agreement merely with current forms.

Of the post-positions he notes the following:—Genitive **-ka** (**-kā**; he also once gives **-ke**), Dative **-kon** (**-kō**), Accusative **-kon**

(-kō), Ablative -se (-sē; he gives also, though not in his paradigms, other forms of it as -sem = -sē and -soe = -sū, sū). In his texts, he gives the locative -mē (as -me), and the dative wātē (waste). But he does not mention the agentive -nē. This is another point showing that his Hindustani is not the standard speech.

Paradigms.

(i) beetha (-beṭā).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	beetha	beethe.
Gen.	beethaka	beethonka (-beṭō kā)
Dat.	beethakon	beethonkon (-beṭō kō)
Acc.	„	„
Voc.	e beetha (-ai beṭā)	e beethe
Abl.	beethase	beethese.

(ii) boedia (burhiyā): pl. nom. boedien (= burhiyō), pl. obl. boedion (burhiyō).

(iii) admi (ādmī). pl. nom. and obl. admion (ādmīō).

(iv) beethi (beṭī) pl. nom. and obl. beetia (beṭiā = beṭiā?).

(v) aardhoe (ārū 'juvencus'), pl. nom. and obl. aardoeson (= ārūō).

(vi) dsjoeroe (jōru), pl. nom. and obl. dsjoeroeson (jōrūō).

(vii) baab (bāp), pl. nom. and obl. baabé (= bāpē?)

(viii) ank (ākh), pl. nom. and obl. anké (= ākhō).

§ 40. The Pronouns

Ketelaer notes the difference in number between **me** and **ham** (maī—ham), and **toe** and **tom** (tū—tum): Gujarati and Marathi which he had occasion to know at Surat, evidently helped him to find out this distinction in Hindustani (Gujarati nom. sg. hū, obl. sg. mē, pl. amē: Marathi mī—āmhī). Elsewhere (p. 463) he has remarked on the use of **ham**—**hammare** and **tom**—**tommare** for the singular also. The LSI. has noted that **apre** for the first person due to Gujarati influence: Gujarati gen. pl. is **apaḍo**, **apaṇo**—and the **r** in **apre** is probably the result of an attempt to represent the -ḍ- (= -ṛ-) or the -ṇ- (resembling -ṛ).

First Person.	Second Person.
N. me—ham	toe (tū)—tom (tum)
G. meere (mērā)—apre (= apne)	teere (terā)—tommare
D. mukon (mōkō)—ham kon	teerekon (tērekō)—tomkon
Ac. meera—hammare	teera—tommare
Voc. e me—e ham	e toe—e tom
Ab. mese—hamse.	toese—tomse.

In addition he brings in *mujhe* and *tujhe* (misjə, toesjə) later under the Verb.

The third Personal Pronoun is given as nom. sg. *whe* (= wōh), plural nom. and obl. *inne* (= in). The oblique sg. form are given as *isseka*, *issekon*, accusative *whe*, ablative *isse*.

The Interrogative Pronoun is thus illustrated:

kon he (kaun hai), *kon heoder* (kaun hai udhar), *kon dourte*, *bolte* (kaun dauṛtā bōltā), *kja ghabber* (kyā xabar), *kja tsjeyte* (kyā cāhtā?), *kjon ney* (kyō nahī), *kiswaste*, *kjon* (kyō), *kittē* (= kittā).

The Relative and other pronouns are omitted. The feminine forms *meeri*, *teeri*, *hammari*, *tommari* are illustrated.

§ 41. The Pronoun is followed by a note on the negative particles *na*, *mat*, *ney*; and illustrations of the use of *mat* are given, like *mat dsjauw* (mat jāō) and *giere mat* (gīrē mat).

§ 42. We have then a paragraph illustrating by examples the formation of abstract substantives in *ie* (-ī), e.g. *ghoeb—ghoebje* (zab—zabī), *alla—allahie* (allāh—allāhī), *andeer—andeerie* (andher—andherī), etc.

§ 43. *Comparison of adjectives* is next taken up: *kalla—issoe kalla* (kāla—issē kāla) and *sabsoe kalla* (sab-sō for sab-sā kāla), *karwa—issoe karwa—sabsoe kerwa* (kaṛuā, kaṛwā), etc.

§ 44. Word-formation is illustrated once again, the affixes *-gār* and *-dār* and *-ār* (*gonna—gonnagar*, *dsjīmien—dsjīmidaar* = zamīn—zamīdār, *sonna—sonnaar* = sōnār etc.), the

affixes **-cī**, **wālā** (toop—tooptsie = **tōp**, **tōpcī**, **karnai**—**karnaitsjē**, **lackri**—**lackriewalla** etc.) being given. **Tierendaas** (**tīr-andāz**) and **deggedaas** for **deggebāas** (**dagā-bāz**) are wrongly explained as showing an affix **daas** (= ***dāz**). The feminine-forming affix **-an** (= **-an**) is noted, as in **dhooben**, **malen**, **mootsjen** (**dhōban**, **mālan**, **mōcan**).

Next, Ketelaer seeks to explain the suffix of endearment **-jī**, which he gives as **dsjieve** = **jīw**: he thinks,—from **baab dsjieve**, **sahab dsjieve**, **maa** or **bhen** or **bibi dsjieve** (**bāp**, **sāhib**, **māī**, **bahan**, **biwī**, + **jī**), that **beetha dsjieve**, **beeti dsjieve** (= **beṭā-jī**, **beṭī-jī**) are allowed in addressing, in the sense of 'dear son, dear daughter'.

The employ of the word **fallaan** (**fulān**) is explained, and then comes a further note on comparison, with two sentences—**admi gorasoe ghoobha** (**ādmī ghōṛā-se xub hai** and **hāthī bhelse barrahe** (**hāthī bail se barā hai**).

§ 45. The rest of the grammar is taken up with *Conjugation* (pp. 466—485). Ketelaer's treatment of the verb makes it quite clear that his Hindustani is the 'ungrammatical' **bāsār** dialect. The feminine forms of the verbs are unknown to him, and he gives no hint about the passive construction of the past tense of the transitive verb. The three persons have only *one* form, in both the singular and the plural. One interesting point is that in the future the form for the first person singular is extended to the second and third persons, and the nasal from the first person singular infects the other persons and number. In the **bāsār** Hindustani of Bombay and of Gujarat towns, one hears **ham jāēṅgā**, **wōh jāēṅgā**, **we lōg karēṅgā**, **sēṭhī kal āēṅgā** etc. A similar usage is seen to characterise Ketelaer's Hindustani; and the form without the **-ṅ** and that with the **-ṅ**. Ketelaer through mistake differentiates as being two types of the future (*s. g.* in giving the paradigms for root **kar**, he gives first, as *Futurum*, singular **me**, **toe**, **we karonga**, plural **ham**, **tom**, **inne karonge**, and then, as *Futurum Secundum*, singular **me**, **toe**, **we karrega**, plural **ham**, **tom**, **inne karrige**).

Some of his **paradigms** are given below:

(a) Substantive verb **he**:

Present, sg. **me, toe, whe he**, pl. **ham, tom, inne hoe** (*i. e.* **hai, hū**).

Imperfect, sg. **hoea**, pl. **hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

Perfect, sg. **hoeétha**, pl. **hoeéthe** (**hūēthā**, for **hūā thā**, and **hūē the**).

Pluperfect, sg. **hougea**, pl. **hougee** (**hō gayā, hō gayē**).

Future, sg. **hunga**, pl. **hunge** (**hūngā, pl. hūngē**).

Second Future, sg. **hoónge**, pl. **hoónge** (= **hōwuṅā, hōwuṅē**).

Imperative, sg. **toe ro**, pl. **tom ree** (**rah, raho**).

Infinitive, **hoea, hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

(b) Root **kar**.

Present, **kartəə**, pl. **karte** (**kartā, kartē**).

Imperfect, **kartatha**, pl. **kartethe** (**kartā thā, kartē the**).

Perfect, **kartsjoekəə**, pl. **kartsjoeke** (**kar cukā, kar cuke**).

Second Perfect, **kia**, pl. **kie** (**kīā, kie**: active construction).

Pluperfect, **kiathā**, pl. **kiethé**.

Future, **karonga**, pl. **karonge** (= honorific?).

Second Future, **karrega**, pl. **karrige**.

Imperative, **toe karro**, **tom karre**.

Infinitive, **karre, karne**.

Roots **kgha-** (**khā**), **pie** (**pī**), **gau** (**gāw** = **gā** 'to sing'), **bae-** (**hāu**), are similarly conjugated. There are some inaccuracies, and discrepancies. A further number of verbs—some 50—follow, with some of the tenses indicated. The **Passive Verb** comes next: the following instances will indicate the treatment:

Singular, **misjəə sichte**, **toesjəə sichte**, **ikkon sichte**, plural **hamkon sichte**, **tomkon sichte**, **innekom sichte** (**mujhē, tujhē, əkkō, hamkō, tumkō, inkō sikhā** for **sikhātā**) = I am taught, thou art taught etc.

So, **misjəə poslaute** (= **mujhē phuslāwtā, phuslātā**) = I am deceived; **toesjəə galli deete** (= **tujhē gālī dētā**) = you are abused;

etc. The proper passive apparently is not known or understood by the author.

Other forms (*e. g.* Causatives, Compound Verbs' etc.) are not treated. The conjugation—and the grammar—ends with illustration of a compound tense—the future conjunctive, as it is called—of some verbs in the three persons and both numbers: *e. g.* *sjad* or *tab me sichaya ho:əə* (= 'postquam doctus fuero', *jad* or *tab maī sikhāyā huā*), *sjad toe moeəə hoeəə* (= *jad tu muā huā*), *sjad whe hadjam kar hoeəə* (*jad woh hajām kar* [for *kīā*] *huā*—'postquam tonsus fuerit'), *sjad tom bea karre huā* (= 'postquam matrimonio juncti fueritis' = *jad tum byāh-kīē hue*), etc.

§ 46. Hindustani texts in the shape of translations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer which come next complete the grammar. The translations are devoid of any merit, and are specimens of what was later derided in India as 'missionary vernacular.' It is a pioneer's work, and is therefore often difficult to follow, at times even unintelligible. The ordinal forms of the numerals are found in the Ten Commandments:

pelle hockum (= *pahilā hukm*), *dusra*, *tisra*, *tsjoute*, *paansme*, *tsjəəme*, *ːaatme*, *aathme*, *noovme* and *desme*. The Lord's Prayer has already been given in the LSI.; here I quote one of the commandments: *tom koy bod* (=but) *oor usse brabber mat benauw*, *sjon* (=jyð) *asmaan me oepper he*, *oor nietsje* (= *nīce*), *sjimien me* (= *zamīn-mē*) *he*, *oor sjimien-mē telle* (= *zamīn-kē talē*) *he*, *oor panime sjimien me nietsje he* (= *zamīn-kē nīcē hai*), *tom inneka* (= *inkā*) *aggi* (= *āge*) *issed* (= *izzat*) *mat karro*, *oor inne* (*inhē*) *gesmet* (= *xizmat*, *xidmat*) *mat karro*; *waste*, *me saheb tommara all'a he* (= *is wāstē*, *ki maī sāhib aur tumbārā allāh hū*), *we jo gonna ginte baab ka usse beeta kon* (= *wa jō gunāh gintā*, *bāp-kā usse bēṭā-ko*), *tisre oor tsjoute kabila*, *we gonne karte*, *oor deḷassa kar*, *hazaar se*, *we jo ham peaar karte oor meera firmaas rakte* (= *rakhtā*).

§ 47. It would appear that the vocabularies are in some respects more useful than the grammar. Despite a number of misprints—and it must be said, to the credit of the editor and the

printers, their number is much less than what could be expected—we get from them a faithful enough picture of the nature of the elements of spoken Hindustani of two hundred years ago—its *Sprachgut*. It is already fairly highly Persianised, but a good many old Hindi words still are in common use. Some of these latter have become obsolete now; others, including the foreign Persian and Perso-Arabic vocables, have slightly altered their meanings. These vocabularies are well worth a special study.

§ 48. In spite of some inevitable errors of omission and commission, Ketelaer's Hindustani grammar throws a good side-light on popular Hindustani of the early part of the 18th century, when we have a speech which, in spite of a few archaisms which are to be expected quite naturally, is in singular agreement with the typical *bāsār* Hindustani as current as a *Koinē* or *Verkehrssprache* at the present day in all the towns of North India, and in most of the towns of the South.

[**Note.** The above paper was written in March 1931. In October 1932 I received a communication from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel of the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland, in which he very kindly gave me some particulars about Ketelaer's Grammar. The original was written by Ketelaer in Dutch, when he was in India. A Ms. copy of Ketelaer's original Dutch work is preserved in the State Record Office at the Hague, Holland. This copy was made by a clerk at Lucknow in 1693. The title of the document is:

Uinstructive oft onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persicanse talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, alsmede vergeleijkinge, der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewichten mitsgaders beduydingh eeniger moorse namen etc. Door Joan Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbigensem. En gecopieert door Vsaag van der Hoeve, van Uytreght. Tot Leckenaauw. Ao. 1698.

(Instruction or Teaching of the Hindustani and Persian Languages, also their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindustani measures and weights with the Dutch, moreover the meaning of some Moorish names etc. By

John Joshua Ketelaar of Elbing [a town on the Baltic, not far from Dantzic, where K. evidently was born]. Copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht. At Lucknow, A. D. 1698).

It is quite clear that the grammar was written before 1698, —at the end of the 17th century.

Dr. Vogel thinks that Millius, who was professor of ancient languages in the University of Utrecht, translated the work from Dutch into Latin. The original Dutch work has never been published. (S. K. C. 10 October 1934).

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Statement of Income and Expenditure for the period from 1st December 1933 to 31st January 1935.

GAURI SHANKAR,
Honorary Secretary,
Linguistic Society of India.

MATERIALS FOR A SKETCH OF TULU PHONOLOGY

BY

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GENERAL

Tuḷu or Tuḷuva ¹bhāṣa (as it is called by native speakers) is a Dravidian dialect spoken by nearly half a million people inhabiting the central portion of the district of South Canara in the Madras Presidency, between the river Kalyāṇapuri and Chandragiri. The area where Tuḷu is spoken is bounded on the north and the east by Kannaḍa regions, while to the south lies the Malayāḷam-speaking district of Malabar. Within the Tuḷu-speaking area, the Indo-Āryan dialect Koṅkaṇi and the cultivated Dravidian speech Kannaḍa are spoken by a not inconsiderable element of the population. As Tuḷu is not a written dialect, the official language of the localities is Kannaḍa. Though the influence of Indo-Āryan on the one hand and of the Dravidian speech Kannaḍa on the other, has led to the borrowing by Tuḷu of a fairly large number of words from these speeches, the Tuḷuva bhāṣa has kept up its dialectal individuality in a remarkable measure in the spheres of Phonology and Grammar.

The people who speak this dialect belong to different castes and communities, but the non-Brahmin Baṇṭs among them appear to keep up even to-day the social traditions of the Tuḷuva people as exemplified by the Aḷiya-Santāna system of matriarchy still prevalent amongst them. The Brahmins, however, form to-day the chief custodians of Indo-Āryan culture. Uḍupi, the centre

(1) The term [tuḷūve] possesses a meaning "soft" in expressions like (tuḷūve gujḷæ) soft jack-fruit. Whether indeed there is any connection between this word and the name of the people, one cannot say.

of Tuḷuva culture, is the seat of eight important religious maṭhas where Brahminical learning is fostered. The religious zeal of the Tuḷuva Brahmins had from a very early period brought them in contact with the Nambūdiri Brahmins of Malabar. It is a very remarkable fact that the Tuḷuva Brahmins have from an early time commanded respect throughout the Malabar country as being fitter to perform the function of the temple priest than any other group of non Malayāḷi Brahmins. From the point of view of spiritual eminence, the Malayāḷis have accorded to the Tuḷuva Brahmins very much the same recognition and homage that they have been according to the native Nambūdiri Brahmins of Malabar. Cf. in this connection the terms *embirān* 'my spiritual lord' and *pōt'ti* 'worthy of praise' 'the praised one', names by which the Tuḷu Brahmin settlers in Malabar are called by the Malayāḷis. As I have said, this apparently has been a direct result of the cultural intercourse that has existed from an early time between the Brahmins of Malabar and of Tuḷuva nāḍu.

The Tuḷuvās appear to belong to an ancient stock of people as their name is referred to in the ancient Tamil classics. History tells us that they may once have been the subjects of Sātiyaputra. Notwithstanding this fact, the Tuḷuvās have not cultivated their language as a literary dialect. Apart from a few Paurānic and Sanskritic legends and religious songs preserved on palm-leaves in the Brahmin families and also folk-songs current among non-Brahmin Tuḷuvās, there exist no records (literary or inscriptional) of the past condition of this dialect. The Paurānic legends and songs do not seem to be very ancient; yet they are useful to us in elucidating a few dialectal variations, and also the peculiar changes undergone by Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit

(1) Cf. the verse in *Aganānūru*, one of the oldest of extant Tamil classics :

pāgalārkai-p-paraikkat-pīli-t
tōgai-k-kāvit'-t'ruḷunāḍ-anna

"—The Tuḷuva country famed for its arbours filled with peacocks feeding on the pāgal fruits."

(and probably Prakrit also which at one time was current in South India). So far as the folk-songs are concerned, they are invaluable to the student of the history of the Tuḷu language, as they preserve some very old forms of Tuḷu words.

Valuable material regarding the grammatical and glossarial features of the present-day condition of the dialect has been collected by the Mangalore missionaries whose unique pioneer zeal in the exploration of the languages of these parts deserves to be recognised with gratitude. A Tuḷu translation of the New Testament (1859), a grammar containing the outlines of morphology and syntax (1872), and a Dictionary which is fairly exhaustive (1886) are some of their publications which furnish the student with rich linguistic data. These works, however, were all written several decades ago, and were primarily aimed at imparting to missionaries a working knowledge of the language. To the modern linguist interested in details and minute dialectal variations, they are inadequate. Particularly in Phonology and in Grammar where the dialectal differences vary on a communal as well as a regional basis, the modern linguist has to depend on his own independent investigations for the requisite information.

As the dialects of the Madras Presidency did not fall directly within the scope of the Linguistic Survey of India, Tuḷu was omitted from the list of Dravidian dialects described in the Fourth Volume of this series.

The present writer whose interest in Dravidic studies led him to the study of Tuḷu also, happened to spend some time in the Tuḷu-speaking talukas of South Canara, and he utilised his visit to observe the phonetic and the morphological peculiarities of some of the sub-dialects of Tuḷu. He has subsequently also been able to verify his observations carefully by comparing them with the views of Tuḷuvas resident in the Cochin State. He has embodied all these observations of his in the following sketch.

The alphabet originally employed by Tuḷuva Brahmins in writing out the legends on palm-leaves was a modification of the

Malayâlam script. The reason for this preference was apparently the intercourse that existed between the Tuḷuvas and the Malayâlis from an early period. The Mangalore missionaries, on the other hand, printed their Tuḷu works in the Kannaḍa script, and this was probably more in the fitness of things, in view of the close proximity of the Kannaḍa-speaking areas to Tuḷuva naḍu and of the large influence exercised by the former on Tuḷu, particularly in vocabulary.

TULU PHONETICS.

The symbols employed in this sketch for the representation of Tuḷu sounds are adapted from the notation of the International Phonetic Association. They are mostly the same as those which the present writer has used in his "Brief Account of Malayâlam Phonetics."

Tabular representation of Tuḷu Sounds. VOWELS.

	Front.	Central or Mixed.	Dorsal.
Closed	[i]	[ɪ] [ü]	[ɯ] [u]
Half-Closed	[e]	[ɛ] [ø] [ə]	[o]
Half-Open	[æ]	[ɐ]	[ʌ] [ɔ]
Open	[a]	[ä]	[ɑ:]

Non-syllabic [ɪ] and [ü].'

'These sounds approach the values [ɹ] and [ʃ].

Position on the mouth-roof, according to Jespersen's notation.	Bilabial —b	Labio- dental —d	Inter- dental —d to e	Alveolar. —f	Post alveo- lar and Palatal —g	Retroflex or Cacuminal —h	Velar —i to j	Glottis.
	<i>Lip with</i>		Teeth with fore-blade.	Upper gums with tip of tongue.	Front palate with blade.	Palatal dome with tip of tongue.	Back plate with after-blade.	Glottal.
	Lip.	Teeth.						
Plosives —	[p], [b]		[t], [d]		[k'], [g']	[ʈ], [ɖ]	[k], [g]	
Affricates —					[tʃ], [dʒ]			
Nasals —	[m]			[n]	[ɲ]	[ɳ]	[ŋ]	
Laterals —				[l]		[ɭ]		
Rolled —				[r]				
Fricatives —	[ʋ]	[v]	[s]	[ʃ]	[j]	[ʂ]		[h], [ɦ]

The number of "phonemes" in Tuḷu is thirty only, these being represented in this sketch by the following I. P. A. symbols: [p], [b], [t], [d], [ʈ], [ɖ], [k], [g], [c], [ɟ], [ɟ̃], [m], [n], [ɲ]. [l], [ɭ], [r], [ɳ], [s], [ʂ], [ʃ], [j], [ɕ]—[i], [e], [æ], [a:], [o], [u], [ɯ], [ʌ].

Owing to the large influence exercised by Sanskrit on Tuḷu lexicology, Tuḷu borrowings from Sanskrit show also the aspirate consonants. It may be noted here that, while the proportion of Sanskrit words in the dialect of the Tuḷuva Brahmins is exceedingly high, the number of Indo-Āryan adaptations in the common people's dialect is also not negligible.

There occur in Tuḷu a number of other sounds also which can only be described as "phones" or speech-sounds, belonging as they do to one or other of the above phonemes. The most prominent among these are the following:—

[v], [ɳ], [ɳ]—

[i], [ü], [é], [ö], [ə], [ɐ], [ä].

The contexts in which these occur are alluded to below in connection with the description of the phonemes themselves.

The phonation of Tuḷu sounds, generally speaking, shares many common features of south Dravidian enunciation. In the present sketch I shall point out only the unique peculiarities of Tuḷu while, for information about the common features, I would refer the reader to my "Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics."

1. [p] This bilabial surd occurs initially and intervocally in Tuḷu words:—['pud̪ə] dove; ['po:di-] or ['po:ɖi-] to fear; 'Ad̪epu] closing.

Intervocally, the short sound is quite stable and pure particularly in secondary or derivative positions; contrast with this the intervocal enunciation of Tamil surds which become voiced mediae.

Tuḷu [p] involves no aspiration normally, but its phonation is accompanied by greater muscular tension than in Tamil or in Malayāḷam.

2. [b]—In initial positions this plosive is devoiced a little, but it can never be mistaken for [p]. Intervocally [b] does occur in Tuḷu in a stable form. ['bʌŋʒi] belly; [bar-] to come; ['ʌdɐbæ] adulteress; ['ubi-] to swell.

3. [t] This is an interdental surd, in the production of which sometimes the tip of the tongue may be spread not only over the teeth but over the teeth-ridge also.

Tuḷu lacks the alveolar plosives [t] and [d] of Tamil-Malayāḷam. The voiced alveolar [d̪] in the Tamil consonant group [ndr] and in Malayāḷam [nd̪] is produced with the tip of the tongue on the fore-gums while the voiceless alveolar [t̪] of Malayāḷam is produced farther backward in or immediately behind the region of the back-gums.

Historically, Tuḷu has changed the old alveolar group [ndr] to [ŋʒ] :—

Tuḷu		Tam		Kann
['oŋʒi] one	—	['ondru]	—	['oṇdu]
['kʌŋʒi] calf	—	['kʌndru]	—	['kʌṇdu].

4. [d̪] This sound occurs initially in native words :—['dʌvɐr-] to become loose); ['dall-] to beat.

Compare Kannāḍa and Telugu.

Medially, [d̪] in Tuḷu may in some cases be the result of secondary changes peculiar to this dialect. (Vide Phonology below).

5. [t̪], [d̪] : These are genuine cacuminals produced with the tip of the tongue on the dome of the palate.

They are not found initially in native Dravidian words.

The consonant group [ɳt] in Tuḷu, like the consonant groups [ɳc], [ɳt], [ɳk] and like intervocal surds in derivative positions in this dialect, is quite stable, unlike in Tamil.

6. [k] : The phonation of this velar plosive calls for no remarks, except that when compared with Tamil [k], the muscular tension is greater and that the sound shows less tendency to become weakened intervocally than in Tamil.

[k] in connection with front vowels becomes slightly "frontalised" in its point of articulation though it never reaches the position of the palatal plosive [c], e.g. ['ʌɖi-k'ɐi] palm of the hand; ['k'ip̤pi] small; ['ʌkk'i] rice.

7. [g] : The voiced velar plosive can occur initially in native words, e. g., ['ga:vü] heat ; ['guḷi] or ['guri] pit; ['ga:ɳü-] to glow.

Though not unstable in modern enunciation intervocally, a few instances illustrate the older process of "weakening" e. g.; [uɣərɯ] beside [ubərɯ], [uɐərɯ], brackishness.

A frontalised [g'] in connection with front vowels is found in words like the following:—[mʌg'æ] son; [g'i:rü] to scratch.

[tʃ], [tʃʌ] : These are affricates as in the other south Dravidian speeches, the plosive element being partially present in the initial contact, and the fricative element in the immediately following continuant sound.

These affricates in Tuḷu are produced at a slightly more forward position than in Malayālam or Tamil, especially when they are in contact with front vowels.

Compare the phonation for instance of Tuḷu ['tʃu:ɖü] heat and [tʃikkæ] dwarf.

[tʃʌ] occurs initially in native words e. g., ['tʃʌɖər-] alternating with [tʃʌɖər-] to be dispersed; ['tʃa:r-] to slide; ['tʃiræ] small; ['tʃo:ɳu] child.

[m] calls for no remarks.

10. [ɲ] : This is an alveolar produced at the fore-gums in connection with front vowels and at the back-gums in connection with back vowels.

It is distinct as a phoneme from [ɳ].

In connection with dental plosives it becomes dental, involving as its production does the spreading of the fore-blade, e. g. ['pɔɲd:] to rise; ['uɲt-] to stand up.

It may be interesting to note that while the dental nasal occurs in Malayalam initially and medially, Tulu (like modern Tam; Kann. and Tel.) possesses [ɲ] only in the consonant groups mentioned above.

11. [ɲ̠] : A "palatal" nasal produced at about the same position on the mouth-roof as for [ç] and [jɜ]

Besides being a common sound in the consonant groups [ɲ̠ç] and [ɲ̠jɜ], it occurs initially in a very few native words e. g. [ɲ̠arɜæ] alternating dialectally with ['narkæ] bark, rind.

12. [ɲ̠] This cacuminal nasal characteristic of Dravidian is being displaced by the alveolar [ɲ] in the common dialect of Tulu; nevertheless, it is conspicuous in the speeches of certain areas and communities:—

['mɛɲɲu] spark, [mɛnnu].

['kɛɲɲu] eye, ['pɔɲɲu] or ['pɔɲɲu] girl.

As in other Dravidian dialects [ɲ̠] does not occur in initial positions of Tulu words.

13. [ŋ] : This velar nasal never occurs in its short form, nor is it found initially. It is found in the consonant groups [ŋk] and [ŋg]. In the adaptations ['Aɲɲɛɲa] courtyard and ['kɛɲɲɛɲæ] plate, [ŋŋ] stands for Skt. [ŋg]. Cf. also ['Aɲɲɛɲɔɲu] limbs, a native plural of Skt. ['Aɲga].

14. [l] : The alveolar lateral when in connection with front vowels is produced at the fore-gums while the articulation is slightly more backward i. e. near the back-gums, when influenced by neighbouring back vowels.

[l] does occur in **Anlaut**-positions of **Tuḷu** native words as the result of Accent-shift and Aphesis, e. g., [ʔamb] to wash beside [ʔa.ləmb-]; [ʔepp-] beside [ʔo.ləpp-] to call, etc.

15. [ɭ] : The individuality of this characteristic Dravidian cacuminal is conspicuous still in **Tuḷu**, though the colloquial favours a tendency to decerebralise the sound:— [ʔləv-] to measure; '(a:ɭu) person ('kaɭɭa) deceitful; ('ba:ɭu) sword.

16. [r] : The points of articulation vary slightly with different speakers. It is only post-dental (i. e. articulated at the edge of the upper row of teeth) in some instances, while it is fully alveolar in others. The most forward limit is the teeth-edge and the most backward is the region of the back-gums. The rolled or trilled r̥ of Tamil and Malayâlam is not found in **Tuḷu**. Historically, it had undergone peculiar modifications.

17. [ʋ] : Initially, the current bilabial fricative of the common variety of modern **Tuḷu** is developed from an original non-syllabic [ũ] occurring initially before dorsal vowels of native words. The representative of initial [ʋ] of Tamil, Telugu, Kūi and Malayâlam is [b] in **Tuḷu**, as in the other b- dialects of Dravidian viz., Kannaḍa, Brāhūi and Kurukh. **Tuḷu** [ʋ] involves a slightly greater activity of the lips than Tamil or Malayalam [ʋ].

Some speakers (probably influenced by the enunciation of Indo-Aryan) give a labiodental value to this sound especially in Sanskrit words.

Medially, [ʋ] occurs in radical and derivative positions:— [ʔa:ʋəlu] yawning ; ['kaɭʋə] theft [ʈelʋə] handsome.

18. [s]—The interdental sibilant is a very conspicuous development in native **Tuḷu** words. It is found both initially and medially:—[su:] to see; [suɭi] eddy; [pasi] boy, child.

Note that Tamil and Malayâlam do not generally possess [s] in native words.

The voiced variety [z] does not exist in **Tuḷu** or in any other Dravidian dialect for that matter.

19. [ʃ]: This sound is produced in Tuḷu with the tip of the tongue forming a slight hole-like passage somewhere on the alveolar region. The fricative element in the affricate [ʈʃ] of Tuḷu is produced at a slightly more backward position.

[ʃ] in Tuḷu is found in initial positions as a variant of [t] and alternating with [s]:—[ʃird-] to correct, beside [tird]; [ʃɪt] sweetness, beside [ti].

For the inter-relationships of these sounds, see Phonology below. Medially [ʃ] is very rare in native words, the sound having changed to [s] in this position as regularly as in Kannaḍa.

20. [ɦ]: The glottal fricative is a conspicuous secondary development in native words of certain communal dialects of Tuḷu: [ɦuḍərɪ] lamp; [ɦɪɪ] to die; [ɦudæ] river.

For the circumstances in which the glottal fricative has cropped up in Tuḷu, see Phonology below.

Ordinarily the sound is partially voiced, but the Tuḷuva Brahmins give the voiceless value to the sound in Sanskrit tatsamas and tadbhavas. Medially, a voiced [ɦ] appears only in borrowings from Kannaḍa, like [Arifiɦ] knowledge.

Vowels.

21. [i]: The phonation is the same as in other south Dravidian speeches. When followed in the next syllable by short consonants and open vowels, [i] changes to [ə] or [e]:—[iɖæ] place, beside [eɖæ]; [ilæ] leaf, beside [elæ].

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety of this sound occurs; this is symbolised in this paper by [ɪ]:—[kudɪkæ] fox; [maɖɪpu] folding.

22. [e]: In unaccented positions, [e] changes to [ə], and in some instances where the character of [e] is distinctly marked off, to [ɛ]. Finally, a more open [ɐ] is also found.

23. [æ] : This sound occurs in final positions of nouns which in Tamil have terminal [ɔi] or [ei] and in Kannada [e], e. g. [ba:ɭæ] plantain ; [maɾæ] screen.

It is also found as a colloquial variant of [A] or [ɑ:] in connection with the palatal [ɲ], [ɕ] and [ʃz] :—[æjzæ] footprint ; [ædər-] to disperse ; [ɕæ:ræ] coconut palm ; [nærk-] to slice.

24. [ɑ:] : This, as in other Dravidian speeches, is the value of the long â sound.

25. [o] : [o] in Tuḷu is not always so close as in Malayālam or in Tamil. In the speeches of the common masses, I have heard the value of [ɔ] being given to this sound by some speakers e. g. in [bɔɭir-] to become pale ; [bɔɪd-] to wish ; [bɔkka] and.

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety [ö] appears with less lip-rounding, e. g. [dinödu] in a day ; [maɾöku] to the tree etc.

Normal [o] of Tuḷu alternates in some speech-varieties with another sound which is allied to [e] and characterised by lip-sounding, in words which in other south Dr. dialects have [e] :—[pɔɳɳu] beside colloquial [pɔɳɳu] ; [pɔ:ɖi-] to fear, colloquial [pɔ:ɖi]. cf. Tam. [peɳ] girl and Mal. [pe:ɖi] fear.

26. [u] : Lip-rounding is very conspicuous.

An original glide [ũ] before initial [u] of native words has now developed into [ʊ] in some speech-varieties.

In unaccented positions [u] may frequently appear with a centralised value [ü] :—[kaɖü-va:ɭi] a kind of fish ; [ku:ɖükəttu] association ; [kaɖüpa] excessive.

[u] changes to [ɔ] in the same circumstances in which [i] changes to [e] mentioned above :—[oɳɳɳɳɳ] dry, beside [uɳɳɳɳɳ] ; [toɖæ] thigh, beside [tuɖæ].

27. [ɯ] This is a close, back sound somewhat similar to [u] but without lip-rounding. cf. Tamil [ɯ]. This sound (replaced sometimes by [u], see 'Phonology') occurs as an enunciative of Tuḷu words after final consonants. It is noteworthy that it is found not only after some terminal plosives and fricatives but also invariably after [l], [n], [r] [ɟ], [ŋ], [m] and [j], while in literary Tamil and Malayālam the enunciative need appear only optionally after the last-mentioned sounds. [e:ɖɯ] sheep [pa:lɯ] division; [ka:rɯ] leg; [e:ɭɯ] seven [a:ŋɯ] boy; [mi:nɯ] fish.

[ɯ] in Tuḷu is also found in declensional endings and conjugational terminations. (see below). The dative ending [kɯ] or [gɯ], Acc. [nɯ], Loc. [ɖɯ] etc. appear only with final [ɯ] unless influenced by a back vowel in the stem, in which case [u] appears instead of [ɯ]. cf. [pu:kɯ] to the flower and [ɬamməgɯ] to the mother. Among the conjugational forms, the endings of the past participle, the perfect participle, the third person imperative etc. show [ɯ] or [u] according to this rule.

28. [ʌ] : This is the short a-sound of Dravidian; Medially in unaccented positions it changes to [ə] e. g., ['birelɯ] finger; ['ʌɖəpu] closing, etc.

[ʌ] in final positions becomes slightly more open and probably a little "frontalised." This value is represented in this essay by [ʌ̠]

[ʌ] sometimes alternates with [ə] or even [e] after the voiced plosives, affricates and fricatives: - [jʌɖi-] [jɛɖi-] tor am; [ɕʌræ], [ɕeræ] head; [ɖʌntæ], [ɖɛntæ] stick.

[ʌ] changes in certain varieties to [ɔ] or [o] under the influence of neighbouring bilabials: - ['tappu], [tɔppu], ['soppu] mistake; ['par-pü-] beside [por-pü-] to pluck.

Phones.

Consonants:—[ɾ]—This is the value of [r] when in contact with the retroflex sounds. As it is not a “significant” sound in **Tulu**, it may be considered to be member of the [r] phoneme.

For [ɲ] and [ɳ] and [ɭ] the dental varieties of [n] and [l], see above under the remarks for the latter.

Vowels : A number of these have already been referred to above. Apart from these, I have noted an open mixed obscure [ɐ] in the Gerundial Infinitives of **Tulu** -[pɒɲjɐɾə] for speaking [tinjɐɾə] for eating, etc. This [ɐ] also crops up in the rapid utterance of final [ä] in connected sentences.

Diphthongs.

The following falling diphthongs are current in **Tulu** in rapid enunciation. Deliberate utterance may lead to the disappearance of the diphthongal value:—

[ɬi], [ɐi], — ['kai] hand; [mai] body.

[a:i] — ['ka:i] fruit

[Au] — ['Au] there; [Aunkü-] to press].

[oi] — ['koi] to reap; [oilü-] to reel.

Consonant Groups.

1. The native consonant groups (apart of course from long consonants), found in other Dr. speeches, occur in **Tulu** also:—

(a) Nasals and plosives : [ɲk], [ɲg], [pɕʰ], [pɕʰ] [ɲt] [ɲd] [nt], [nd], [mp], [mb]—For illustrations see below under “Phonology”

(b) [ɭ], [ɭ] [r], [ɳ] and consonants : [nilk-] to peep, stand on tip-toe; [mulpu] here; [tird-] to mend; [tirkæ] settlement; [ta:lmæ] patience; [unkeɭm] night-meal; [pɒpp-] to speak, etc.

2. Apart from these, there occur in **Tulu** certain consonant groups like the following, consequent on the disappearance (in

rapid colloquial enunciation) of an intermediate vowel : [ç|ʌɖpu] leanness; [ʌɖgæ] near; [ç|ɪgru] sprout; [nesru] morning [paɪpu] tender, etc. [oɖkə] end, broken; [kʌɖtəlu] what is broken.

Dialectology.

The sub-dialectal varieties of **Tuḷu** appear to have both a communal and a regional basis. Of the regional divergences I have not been able to make a proper study yet. The communal variations are all interesting and significant; but among them all the widest cleavage is met with between the sub-dialect of the **Tuḷuva** Brahmins and the speech-variety current amongst the most prominent community of **Tuḷu nāḍu**, viz. the **Baṇṭs** who are cultivators and non-Brahmins. I am told that there are some divergences (of a less significant character, however) between the dialect of the **Baṇṭs** on the one hand, and that current among other non-Brahmin communities like the [maṇse] or a class of Holeyas and the [birvæ] or toddy-drawers on the other. These differences and the regional variations have yet to be investigated through a systematic linguistic survey of the entire **Tuḷuva** country. In the following sketch, I have dealt with only the variations (in Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary) between the Brahmins' sub-dialect and what I describe here as the folk-speech *i.e.* the language employed by the **Baṇṭs** who form the largest community in **Tuḷu nāḍu**.

Phonology.

(i) Initial [s] of the Br. dialect corresponds to [t] of the mass-dialect in instances like the following:—

<i>Br.</i>	<i>Folk-dialect.</i>
to see [su:-p-]	[tu : p-]
to appear [so:ʃɪ-]	[to:ʃɪ-]
to leak [soɪr-]	[toɪr-]
to die [sʌj-]	[tʌj-] and [tʌj-]

to be obtained [sik]	[tik-]
to wear [sutt-]	[tutt-]
underneath [sittu]	[tirtu]

(ii) In a few, Br. [t] corresponds to certain regional forms of the folk-dialect [s] :—

sweetness [ti:pæ]	[si:pæ] or [ʃi:pæ]
torch [tu:tæ]	[su:tæ]
river [tudæ]	[sudæ]

(iii) Initial [ɸ] is found in Tulu in two strata of words: (a) Borrowings from new Kannaḍa of words with initial [ɸ] < older [p]; (b) [ɸ] in native words corresponding to initial [t]. Of these, the borrowings from Kannaḍa are found in varying measure all over the country and amongst all communities; but [ɸ] or sometimes voiceless [h] corresponding to [t] and [s] is more frequent among the Jains and others in the eastern and south eastern taluks of the Tulu country.

[ɸ] words	— corresponding to [s] or [t] words
to see [hu:-p-]	— [su:-p], [tu:-p-]
river [hudæ]	— [sudæ], [tudæ]
to appear [ho:ɸz-]	-- [so:ɸz-], [to:ɸz-]

(iv) Borrowings from Kannaḍa with initial [ɸ] (derived in Kann. from older [p]) are preserved in the Br. dialect with the initial aspirate, generally speaking; but in the mass-dialect, the [ɸ] disappears.

Br.	Folk-dialect
ship [ɸɪɖəgu]	[ɪɖəgu]
gold [ɸonnu]	[onnu]
adulteress [ɸɪɖəbé]	[ɪɖəbé]
much [ɸe:rəɭa]	[e:rəɭa]

(v) Initial [ɟ] of the Br. dialect answers to [d] of the folk-speech in the following:—

what ? [ɟa:næ]	[da:næ]
why ? [ɟa:ɟəgu], [ɟe:gu]	— [-da:ɟəgu]
to be filled [ɟɪɪɟz-]	— [-dɪɪɟz-]
crab [ɟepɪɪ]	— [-depɪɪ]

cf. the adaptation [jæji-] to win, which preserves [jz] in the Br. dialect but appears with [d] as [deji] among certain non-Brahmins.

(vi) Br. [iddi] not, answers to folk-sp. [iɟzi]

(vii) the sound corresponding to the peculiar voiced continuant [ɟ] of Tamil, Mal., old Kannaḍi and Baḍaga. is in intervocal positions, [ɟ] in the Br. speech, but [r] in the folk-dialect:

fowl [ko : ɟi] — [ko : ri]

pit [guɟi] — [guri]

to fall [bu : ɟ] — [bu : r-]

plantain tree [ba : ɟə] — [ba : rə]

This correspondence Br. [ɟ] — folk [r] exists only in cases where the short sound appears intervocally; when it occurs in consonant groups, it assumes the value of [r] in all sub-dialects in Tuḷu :

Ripe fruit [paɾɟur], black gram [urɟur], dust [burɟə], etc.—corresponding to Tam. [paɾəm], [uɾɟuɟur], [puɾudi], etc.

(viii) The retroflex [ɟ] [ɳ] appear to be more common in the Br. dialect.

to shine [meɳək-] — [menk-]

should be done [aɳpoɟi] — [maɳpoli]

to do [aɳpuɳa] — [maɳpuni]

(ix) Inter-vocal plosives in derivative and indexional positions appear more often unvoiced in the Br. dialect.

(x) Aphæresized forms are, so far as I can see, fewer in the speech of the Brahmins than in the folk-speech.

to call [ʋoɟep-] — [lepp-]

to wash [ʌləmb-] — [lamb] or [lumb]

left [eɟəŋgu] — [ɟəŋgu] or [dəŋgu]

spot, stain [kaɟəŋku] — [ləŋku]

(xi) The tadbhavas from I A appear on the whole to have undergone fewer modifications in the Br. dialect.

Grammar.

(a) Post-positional terminations.

(i) The Acc. ending in the Br. dialect is (-ni-), while in the folk-speech it is (-nu-) or (-nu), the character of the enunciative

depending upon vocalic harmony with sounds of the preceding syllable in each case—

rice (Ari), (Ari ni) — (Ari-nu)

country (u:ru), (u.rü-ni) — (u:rü-nu)

(ii) The Abl. sing ending of the Br. dialect is (-ttu) or (-ttu), while the folk speech has (ddu) or (-ddu).

from the table (me:jzi-ttu) — (me:jziddu)

from the garden (to:ttö ntu) — (to:ttöddu)

(iii) The Genitive sing. affix of the Br. dialect is (-to), (-do) when preceded by a dorsal vowel in the previous syllable, while it is (-tä), (-dä) when preceded by a front vowel in the preceding syllable; in the folk-dialect the affix is generally always (-tä), (-dä).

of tree (marö nto) — (marö dä)

of water (ni:rüdo) — (ni:rüdä)

(iv) the sing. Gen. of words denoting human beings may have [-no] in the Br. dialect:

of the mother [Appano] — [Appä-da]

of the boy [ma:ni.no] — [ma:ni-dä]

(v) A nasal appears in certain post-positional terminations in the Br. dialect in words which (whether native or adaptations from [A]) correspond to those which in Tam., Mal. and other speeches have a final [-m]—

at the tree [marö-ntu] — [marö-ðu]

of the people [jzano nto]—[jzana-dä]

[Note:—[marä] tree (a native word) and [jzana] people (I A) correspond to [marä-m,] [jzanəm] found in Tam., etc.]

The nasal has been carried over, in the Brahmins' sub-dialect, to the post-positional endings of some words like [uṇesur], as in [uṇesoṇtu], etc., though the bases of these words cannot have had an original nasal as in [marām] etc.

(b) Demonstratives and Interrogatives.

(i) The aphæresized inflexional forms of [iṇḍu], [uṇḍu]:

[nekku] to this,
 [nettä] of this,
 [neḍḍu] from this,
 [neṭṭu] at this,
 [ne:ku] these

are not commonly found in the Br. dialect; on the other hand, the non-aphæresized

[uṇḍeku] or [iṇḍeku] to this;
 [uṇḍettä] or [iṇḍettä] of this;
 [uṇḍettu] or [iṇḍettu] from this;
 [uṇḍetu] or [iṇḍetu] at this;
 [uṇḍeku] or [iṇḍeku] these;

are met with.

(ii) The following differences are noteworthy in the Interrogatives:

Br. dialect		Folk-speech
[ɟa:næ] what?		[da:næ]
[ɟa:jəgu] [ɟə:jəgu] [ɟə:gu]	} why?	[da:jəgu]
[ɟa:la] anything	—	[da:la]
[ojiku] what for?	—	[da:jəgu]
[e:ru] who?	—	[ja:ru]

(c) Personal Pronouns.

Br. dialect	Folk-speech
[e:nu] I	[ja:nu]

[imbje] he (here)—[imbe] (the “oblique” forms show
[imbj-] in the folk-speech)

[imboɭu] she (here) — [mo:ɭu] [Note Aphæresis]

[in̩kuɭu], [in̩ikuɭu], [ni:kuɭu] you — [i:ɾu]

Honorific [me:ɾu] he, she (here) is found only in the folk-dialect; in the Br. speech [a:ɾu] or sometimes a:kɭu (he, she (there) does duty for both the proximate and the remote forms.

(d) Verbs.

(i) The Infinitive ends in [-n̩ä] in the Br. dialect, while in folk-speech it may be [n̩ä] or [-ni]:

Br. [ʌmp̩үн̩ä] to make — [malp̩үni]

(ii) The third person singular neuter ending of all primary tenses except the future is [-ɾu] or [-nu] in the Br. dialect, while in the folk-speech it is [-n̩ɾu] or [-n̩ɾu], *e.g.*, it speaks [pan̩p̩uɾu] or [pan̩p̩uɾu] — [pap̩uun̩ɾu] etc.

(iii) the third person singular neuter ending in the negative of the Future and the Future Perfect tenses is in the Br. dialect [-ʌnu], but [-ʌn̩ɾu] in the folk-dialect.

(iv) The first person plural ending of all tenses has [o:] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech.

(v) One type of causatives is formed with [-a:] in the folk-speech but with [-o:] in the Br. dialect:

Br. [ʌmpo:] to cause to make — [malpa:] etc.

(vi) Negative verb-forms show some divergences. While in the Br. dialect the infinitive of the particular tense-stem is combined with [iddi] not, and the pronominal ending, the folk dialect shows base plus [iɣzi-] plus pronominal ending:

[i : bərpūniddjā] thou hast not come or dost not come — folk-sp. [i.bərpigze].

[a:je battūniddje] he did not come — [a:je battiḡze].

B. In the negatives of the present and sometimes in the present perfect tense the Brahmin dialect sometimes shows forms constituted of base plus [iri] plus pronominal ending.

[bərpirje] he does not come.

[bərpirjaḷu] she does not come.

V. Certain popular negative forms show divergences:

Br. dialect

Folk-speech

[bo:tri] not wanted

[bo:diḡzi], [bo:dicci]

[itri] it was not

[ittiḡzi]

[a:tri] it did not become

[a tiḡzi] etc.

(vii) The present relative participle shows [-i] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech: [bəɾpi] — [bəɾpa]

VOCABULARY.

Brahmins' dialect

Folk-speech.

[gepp-] to take

[depp-]

[kippi] young (as an adj)

[eḷija] (kippi occurs as a noun).

[bigə-da-kaj] key

[tarko:lu]

[pass-] to catch

[patt-]

[ess-] to raise a fund

[ett-]

[end-] to stand up

[unt-]

[tenṇai] coconut

[ta:ra:ji]

[ma:ni] boy

[a:nṇu]

[je:vu] girl

[jo:vu] child, [ponṇu] girl.

[gi:r-] to scratch

[ji:r]

[pa:pu] enough

[i:jəvu]

[a:tu] not-it

[attṇu]

[Amp], [mAMP.] to make	[mΔ p]
[manta] all	[mā:ta]
I A [puruṣe] husband	[kAṇḍəṇē]
I A [Δṣəna], [a:fiā:ra] food	[umpu], [nuppu]
[oṇəsū], [tiṇəsū].	
[koḷ-p] to give	[kor-p] in Bant speech, but [ta:ŋk-] in the speech of the holeyas.
[laka] like	[lekka]

Unique features of Tuḷu Phonetics.

1. The absence of the cacuminal [ɾ], of the peculiar Tamil retroflex continuant [ɻ] and of the alveolar plosives [t] and [d] found in Tamil.
2. The existence of [cʃ], [s] and [ʃ] alternating in initial positions of native Tuḷu words is a contrast to the uniformity with which one or other of these more or less uniformly occurs in the other Dravidian dialects.
3. The frequency of the occurrence of [s] in initial positions of native words.
4. The development of an initial secondary [ɦ] in certain communal and regional dialects.
5. The conspicuous development of on-glides before initial vowels of native words in certain varieties of speech.
6. For other unique features of Tuḷu, see end of the section on Phonological Correspondences.

INDO-ARYAN ADAPTATIONS.

I have already referred to the presence in Tuḷu of a fairly large proportion of Sanskrit words and adaptations. A good number of these words have been adapted with characteristic modifications in the parlance of the non-Brahmins also. Generally speaking, the tatsamas used to be evaluated more or less correctly

by the Brahmins till about a generation or two ago; but when the number of *laukikas* among the Brahmins began to increase, and Sanskrit ceased to be systematically studied by them, the modifications introduced into the popular dialects also began to be accepted by the lay element among the Brahmins.

It is possible that some among the following adaptations were made through the varieties of Prakrit current in south India in an ancient past. No attempt is made here to distinguish the two strata—Sanskritic and Prakritic. I seek only to give here a conspectus of the phonetic modifications as they appear today.

These modifications are very prominent in connection with

- (a) Sanskrit consonant groups.
- (b) Sanskrit initial [v], [s], [jz] and [j] in certain instances.
- (c) Sanskrit aspirate consonants
- (d) Sanskrit [h] both initial and inter-vocal.
- (e) Some miscellaneous instances.

Without seeking to evolve any rules, I shall briefly give a few instances under each heading.

- (a) Sanskrit consonant groups.

(i) Anaptyxis is found in the adaptation of Sanskrit consonant groups of which the second component is [r] and the first a plosive.

Sanskrit	Tulu adaptations
[kṛiama] order	[ˈkəɾəmə]
[ˈgṛhaç[a:r] curse	[ˈgəɾəç[a:rə]
[ˈgrɑ:ma] village	[ˈgəɾəmə]
[ˈgṛhastā] householder	[ˈgerəttə], [ˈgerəstə] or [gəɾestə]
[ˌpraˈjatna] labour	[peˈrəstənə]

(ii) In the following instead of *swarabhakti* we find that [r] is dropped: [ˈdɾʂti] sight, [dittɪ]; [ˈʃɾŋga:rā] beauty, [ʃiŋga:rā]; [ˈmɾga] animal, [migä].

(iii) Sanskrit consonant groups in which the first component is [v] have lost this [v] in the following : ['vɪr̥nda:vana] **Brindavana**, ['runda:ɾæ] or ['runda:vane]; [vj̥ar̥tha] **futile**, ['jert̥ä] or [jertæ].

In the following instances, [v] which is the second member of the groups has disappeared : ['dvi:pa] **island**, ['di:pə], ['dʒivani] **sound**, ['dani]; ['dva:ra] **door**, [do:ra]; [j̥v̥al] **to glow**, [j̥v̥ali-]

(iv) The Skt. group [vj̥] loses its [j̥] element in the following : ['vj̥ar̥tha] **futility**, ['vert̥ä]

['vja:j̥ja] **accusation**, ['vej̥jä]

['vja'tja:s̐a] **difference**, ['vet̥ja:s̐ä]

['vja:pa:ra] **trade**, ['be:pa:rä] or ['be:rä]

(v) Among the other Sanskrit consonant groups, the treatment of the following is interesting :

['kaṣṭa] **trouble**, [kaṭṭa] - ['sthiti] **situation**, ['titi] or ['ḥiti]

['ṣaṣṭhi] a 'tithi', ['ṣaṭi] - [sthala] **place**, ['tala]

['duṣṭa] **wicked**, [duṭṭa] - [j̥pn̄a:paka] **recollection**, ['j̄a:paka] or ['pa:paga].

(b) Certain Sanskrit initial consonants.

(i) [v] : Tuḷu has not preserved or tolerated [v̥] initially as Tamil, Tel. or Kūi. it has [b] in the place of this [v̥] or it has dropped it altogether. The modern [v̥] of some varieties of Tuḷu is from [ū]. This intolerance of initial [v̥] probably accounts for the following :—

['va:j̄ra] **diamond**, ['v̄j̄zira]; ['va:ṣa] **winter**, ['v̄r̄ṣä]

['va:r̄j̄z-] **to cast off**, ['v̄r̄j̄zu]; [vi:bhuti] **secreed ashes**,

[i:bhuti]; [var̄na] **colour**, ['v̄r̄na] or ['b̄aṇṇa]; ['vi:sta:ra]

extent, ['i:sta:rä], [vak̄ra] **perverse**, ['b̄ok̄rä]; ['vi:na:]

musical instrument, ['i:ṇa.]

(ii) [s] appears as [t] in the following:—

['saṇḍja:] **evening**, ['taṇja]; ['svara] **sound**, [t̄orä]

['saṇḍji] **bag**, [taṇḍji]; [so:ma] [to:mä];

['ṣuk̄ra], [tok̄rä]

(iii) [d] appears as [jž] in the following :—

[ˈd̪aːkʃinj̪a] benevolence, [ˈjžaːkʃinj̪ä; [ˈvaɪd̪ja], [ˈbaɪžä];
[ˈd̪anta] tooth, [ˈjžant̪ä]—

(iv) Skt. [j] as Tuḷu [jž] :— [ˈjan̪tra] machine, [ˈjžan̪tr̪ä];
[ˈjat̪na] effort, [ˈjžat̪na]; [ˈjaʊʋana] youth, [ˈjžaʋena]

(c) Sanskrit Aspirate consonants.

The Tuḷu Brahmins usually give correct values to Skt. aspirate consonants. The carefulness with which the aspirate is incorporated by them has resulted in the conversion of certain initial non-aspirate surds of native words into corresponding aspirates:— [ˈcʃali] cold, [ˈcʃʰali]; [ˈbaṇḍi] cart, [ˈbʱaṇḍi]; [ˈtaṭṭig̪ä] ladle, [ˈthaṭṭiga].

But in the dialect of the common people, Sanskrit aspirates lose their aspiration completely : [ˈg̪andʱa] smell, [ˈg̪and̪ä]; [ˈgarbʱa] pregnancy, [ˈg̪arb̪ä]; [ˈaːsaːd̪ʱja] not possible [ˈaːsaːd̪jä]; [ˈkaṭʱina] hard, [ˈkaṭ̪ina];

(d) Sanskrit initial and medial [h] or [ḥ].

Though modern Tuḷu shows a stable [ḥ] in certain contexts, the older treatment of Sanskrit [h] reflects the general tendency of parent Dravidian to avoid [h]:— [ˈaḥ̪aːmati] egotistic audacity, [ˈambot̪u] or [ˈamott̪u]; [ˈaḥ̪aːkaːra] selfishness, [ˈaḥ̪gaːra]; [ˈaːḥ̪aːra] food, [ˈaːr̪ü]; [ˈbaḥ̪aːla] many, [ˈbaːj̪ä]

(e) Other peculiarities.

(i) Metathesis is observable in
[ˈatt̪ess̪ä] from Skt [ˈaṭ̪ṣvatt̪ʱa]
[ark̪ema] from Skt. [ak̪rama].

(ii) SYNCOPE.

[ˈbʱraːḥ̪imaṇa] brahmin, [ˈbr̪ːṇe]
[ˈbʱraːḥ̪imaṇa striː] brahmin woman, [ˈbraːṇti]

(iii) Miscellaneous.

[ˈup̪adr̪ava] trouble, [ˈup̪ed̪r̪ä] or [ˈup̪eːjžed̪ra];
[maˈḥ̪aːṇaʋami] a sacred day, [maːr̪uːmi];
[ˈʃmaːʃaːna] cremation-ground, [maːʃaːn̪ä]

['vandʃja] barren woman, ['maɲʒa]
 [pɾthvi:] earth, ['podevi] or ['podevi]
 [AVASARA] — [Amasara] necessity.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.

I. *The North Wind and the Sun* [Brahmin's dialect]

'bɑḍikēpada 'ga:lila 'sa:dipo:pəna:jēla|| 'oɲʒi dinōntu |
 ori 'tirügōnditti 'sa:dipo:pəna:jēni su'tu | 'surjəde:vərɭa
 'va:jude:vərɭa 'a:ja mittu | oɲʒi 'panta pa:ḍōṇḍēru||Avu
 'jza:jəgənnəga | a:ja mejtɔ 'vastrəni | irūvərēḍe:ru geppo:pəra: |
 a'kuɭu a: 'pantōntu jʒajitəna:kūɭintəɭa | niʃcʃejəm Antēru||
 dumbutā | 'ga:lide:vəru samōntu bi:sjɾə (ə) suruvAntēru||
 a'ṇḍəɭa | a:jə vastrəni 'geppo:jɾə(ə) sa:ddʃja:niddi|| 'etɔ
 gʃattidɔ [or jzō:ruɖɔ] | ga:libi:sjɾa: | a:tughattidɔ a:je
 vastrəni 'podētōṇḍe|| unduni su'tu | 'surjəde:vəru | samōntu
 ,praka:ʃə(ʋ) a:jəru|| ondu sa:jɾəṇə | a: sa:dipo:pəna:je | 'sikə
 (sixə) 'təḍēvəṇə(ē) 'tɪrəntə | vastrəni mejtɔ gette||
 unduni su'tu | 'va:jude:vəru pantōntu 'so:təna:kūɭintəɭa |
 'surjəde:vəru 'jʒajitəna:kūɭintəɭa: | niʃcʃejəntutɔ | a:kuɭ-
 irəɭa: pəra po:jəru||

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

North wind-and wayfarer-and

One day-in one wandering-being way-farer (Acc.) having
 seen, sun-god-and wind-god-and him over a wager made. That
 what-for-it asked-if, his body-from cloth (Acc.) two-persons of
 who fling-off-makes he (honorific Plural) that wager-in won-has-he
 decision made-they. First wind god well blow-to beginning-made.
 Yet his cloth (Acc.) fling make to power-there-was-not. How
 much force-with wind blew-indeed, so much force-with he the
 cloth (Acc.) wrapped up This (Acc.) seen having, sun-god

(1) Long bars indicate pauses, the double ones marking full pauses and single ones half pauses.

Short bars (placed on the left side of words or of syllables) indicate accent, those marked on the top showing primary accent and the others placed on the bottom showing secondary accent.

strength-with shine-became. A-little hence that way-farer heat (Acc.) resist-to able-not-being, cloth (Acc.) body-from took. This seeing wind-god wager-in defeated-one to-be-and, sun-god won-and settled-having, they both away went.

Short notes regarding the sounds.¹

(1) The relationship between dynamic stress and 'musical' pitch in the south Dravidian speeches requires to be experimentally investigated. So far as I can see, accent in these speeches is constituted of both elements. The accent-marks (strong, medium,) given in this essay only symbolise a perceptible rise in stress or in pitch. Generally speaking, accent falls on the root-syllables of native words when separately uttered. In connected speech, two degrees of accent may be demarcated thus roughly: the strong accent which falls on the initial root syllables of important words of each breath-group, and a less strong accent on the root-syllables of other emphatic words in the breath-group.

Statements or exclamations expressive of strong feelings of course involve different degrees and varieties of accent in which pitch or intonation completely submerges the stress element.

[epɕɔɲɟi kaʂtappa:] what a calamity!

[a: je batte:] he came!

[i: po:ɲɛa:] Did'st thou go?

are statements which could be differently intoned according as the feeling underlying each is sorrow, surprise, anger, etc.

(2) I might draw the reader's attention to the neutral or mixed vowels cropping up in these passages. (a) When [ʌ] occurs at the end of a word, it has a slightly more or open and frontalisèd value which I have represented with the symbol [a], as it is neither so dorsal as [ɑ], nor so open and so frontalisèd as [a].

When [a] is rapidly uttered in connected sentences, it may become [ɐ].

(1) For full phonological and grammatical notes, on a comparative basis, of a few Tuḷu passages in both the dialectal varieties, see my "Tuḷu Texts in Two Dialects" in BSOS, IV.

(b) [A] in unaccented syllables has the value of [ə]; but sometimes when for certain grammatical differentiations, [A] has to receive a little stress or accent, then it has the value of [ʊ] which is a mixed vowel slightly more open than [ə]. For instance, in the Second Person Plural tense forms, the ending is [-Arʊ] as distinguished from [-erʊ] of the Third Person forms. Here [Arʊ] becomes [-ʊrʊ], and [-erʊ] becomes [-ērʊ].

(c) Similarly, [ə] in unaccented syllables becomes [ə], except when as in the third person plural tense endings (Masc. and Fem.) or in the Acc. terminations, the sound is definitely marked out with the value of [e], e.g., pāntā pā:ḍōṇḍērʊ, made wager; sādipo : pəṇa:jēnʊ, wayfarer (Acc.)

(3) For the use of [-u] and [-w] as enunciatives, see below under Phonology.

(4) Except the enunciative u of old monosyllabic bases, the sounds u and w appearing as enunciatives in Tuḷu words are elided in sandhi positions (i. e., in breath-groups) before other vowels: [iruəērʊḍ-ērʊ] who of the two, [a:kuḷ-iruverʊ] they-two both, [tirugond-itti] wandering-remaining, etc.

(5) Note the use of [a:kuḷu] as the honorific plural in this text; some Brahmins prefer [a:ru], the form employed as the honorific plural in the folk-speech.

(6) I have very rarely heard [indu] employed by Brahmins who use [undu] instead.

(7) Within breath-groups, when vowels appear contiguously (without elision), the glides y and v appear according to the front or dorsal nature of the hiatus created.

(8) [tirügōnd-] wandering, and [podētōṇḍe] wrapped himself up: Note [-ōnd] and [ōṇḍ] which have the value of conferring a particular " reflexive " nuance on the verb concerned. These " reflexive " bases are found in other south Dr. speeches

with [koŋɖ] the past stem of Dr. [koɭ], annexed to the past stems the simple bases of the verbs concerned. In Tuḷu (as also in Mal. colloquial), the initial [k-] has disappeared; in Tuḷu there has also been decerebralisation of [ŋɖ] in some cases like [tirügönd-].

(9) Some of the peculiarities of the Brahmins' speech reflected in this passage may be noted down here:

(i) Inflexional: The Acc. ending **-ni** of the Br. dialect corresponds to **-nu** or **-nuu** of the folk-speech.

The Abl. [mejttu] from the body answers to the folk-speech [mejddu].

The Locative [dinöŋtu] at the day, [sAmöŋtu], [pAntöŋtu] in the wager, show the infix [ŋ]; the forms of the folk speech would be [dinödu], [pAntödu], etc.

(ii) [jza:jägənnuŋa] 'why-ask if', because, corresponds to the folk-speech [da:jägənnuŋa].

(iii) [su:tu] having—Folk-speech [tu:du].

(iv) [niʃɕəjəm-əntəru] decision made:

[Antəru] is the past tense of Brahmins' [Amp-] to make, corresponding to the folk-speech [maɭp-] of which the past tense stem is [maɭt-].

(v) [iddi] not, as in [sa:dŋja:niddi], would be [ijji] or even [icɕi] in the folk-speech.

(v) The causative forms [geppo:pəru] cause to take away and [geppo:jəɾə] for causing to take away, correspond to the mass-dialect [deppa:vəru] and [deppa:vəɾə] respectively.

[gepp-] take, of the Br. speech answers to [depp-] of the folk-dialect; the causative base is formed from these with [-a:v].

II. The Fox and the Grapes [Brahmins' dialect].

'kudikæla: 'dra:kʃila: ||

ba'ðəvüdu jza:lä tirənti onjzi 'kudikæ | onjzi dinöŋtu |
tinjəɾə(ə) 'jza:lä sikküna:tu | 'suma:ru dikkuɖu ,naɖəttutu |
kaʃtəbuɖutu | kaɖəku | onjzi 'dra:kʃəda ,to:tŋtu po:tu
se:rinu || ,takka maɭt- 'əppərəjitt- onjzi marəta ,kombödu |

dra:kʃi nelo:ntittən=ni su:tu ʔauni ʔa:gitu patjæ(ə) |
 kudikæ ,baʃəjā ʔaʃtəbuðije || ʔuma:ru sarti la:gitu
 ,su:nunda:ndəla ʔa: kudikəgu dra:kʃi ʔikn iddi || aŋəla:ndəla ʔa:
 kudikæ | pa:kkenæ niro:sä-j-a:pi jzantu-u-attw || tanət-a:pi
 kelesä ʔmant-ampəntæ pirəpə:pən iddi-ntw ,niʃəjəjəntutw |
 kudikæ ʔbetla ,la:gipæ(ə) suru ʔ antumw || ,baʃəjā ʔupa:ja-ʔ-
 itti jzantu-ʔa:nənda:ndəla- | ʔo:u-upa:jənta:ʔ-erla- | kudikəgu
 dra:kʃi sikn-ʔiddi || kaðə-kw | ,baʃəjā ʔjasənönʔtu | avu to:ttönʔtu
 ʔa:rupənu || pa:rupə:nəgä | ʔ ʔuʃijitti dra:kʃi ,enku ʔo:tri
 -ntw ʔaŋdönʔtu pənu || ʔa:ja:jəno: ʔ-ʔ-iʃta naðəpp,untæ(ə)
 bannəga | jza:na:ndəla ʔsama:dʃa:na | ʔa:lo:əjəna mampunä |
 ,sa:dʃa:rən ʔ ʔa:tlæ(i)tteno:!!

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

Fox-and Grapes-and.

Hunger-with at-all suffer-not being-able one fox one day-in
 eat-to anything getting-not-having all-places-in walked-having
 trouble-felt-having end-in one grapes-of garden-at gone having
 reached. Somewhat tallness-being one tree-of branch-in grapes
 having-remained-that having seen, then jumping catch-to fox
 much trouble took. Many times jumped-having seen-yet, that
 fox-for grapes obtain-not-was-possible. Yet ʔfox suddenly
 disappointment having creature was-not. Self-from becoming
 work all making-not away-going not-thus decided-having, fox
 again jump-to beginning-made. Many tricks having animal it
 was-though, whatever tricks-with-yet fox to grapes obtain-was
 not. End-in much sorrow-with he garden-from away-ran.
 Away-running-while ʔsour-being grapes me-to want not ʔ thus
 said having went. Each-each-to hopes fulfilled-being-not happen
 if, some one-or-other consolation feeling common is-indeed!

III A Conversation [Brahmins' dialect].

Subra:jen — 'sva:mi! 'sva:mi!||

ʃri:d̥h̥arən — 'sva:mi! naməskara: ||

su. — iṅkuḷu | 'maleja:lōntu | 'epəḷu 'batturū?||

ʃri. — en-idə batturū | mu:ʒi din — aṇu||

su. 'ja:jegū batturū?||

ʃri. — en-oḍuppuḍa 'lakṣ̥ədi:pəla· | enə 'jaṇəṅkūl·nila· |
'su:ja:ɾə(é) boiḍettū battə||

su. - 'etū dinōntə 'taḍəṇ uṇḍu?||

ʃri — nanā pattū dinōntə taḍəṇ uppu.

su. — ittə | 'devəsta: no:ṇṭu ' pu:ja: uṇḍa: iddjə?||

ʃri. — ittə 'iddi || 'po:ji tiṅgəḷuḍu muginū||

sn. — aḷu | baḥḷə 'boḷḷə batnurdə!|| aita:vəra | iṅkuḷe
,u:ruḍ 'etū 'naṣṭəkaṣṭā batnū?||

ʃri — naṣṭəkaṣṭəṅkūl·oṇṇila : paṇjer-iddi|| u:rū pu:rā kṣa:m
batnū!||

Translation.

subrāya : Hail! swami! (A usual form of greeting)

ʃrīdhara : Namaskara!

snbr : When did you come from Malabar?

ʃri : It is three days now since I came here.

su : Why have you come?

ʃri : I came here for witnessing the Lakṣa-dīpa ceremony
at Uḍupi and also to see my relations.

su : How long do you intend to stay here?

ʃri : For ten days more.

su : Do you still officiate as temple priest (in Malabar)?

sri : Not now. My term of office expired last month.

su : I hear of great floods (and rains) there (in Malabar)!

How much loss has been caused by this in your locality?

ʃri : The losses and troubles are better imagined than
described ! The whole place was stricken with famine!

IV. A passage in the dialect of the Non-Brahmin cultivators called Baṇṭs.

The evils of the Aḷiya-santāna (matriarchal) system of inheritance prevalent among the Tuḷuva Non-Brahmins.

'Aḷijā kaṭṭuḍā 'do:ṣo:lu||

'daḷṣiṇā 'kannēḍā j̄zillēḍu | 'Aḷijēsantāna kuḍūmbēḍa
'ejzema:né | kramēprekai:rā | a:kuḍūmbēḍā a:stidā j̄zāḍa:bda:ri
Δdūppūḍe|| naḍepūḍu | ori 'parēbē | 'ejzema:n a:pe||
a:jēgu | kuḍūmbēḍā a:stidḍu | tanā 'boḍēdi ba:loḷēnu mallā
maḷpūṇa manēs - uppūḍu|| aineḍḍu | a:je maltina parēdinōḷēnu
| 'raddu malperē(ē) | boṛkā Δṣena:rthā paḍe:jērē | vja:jzōḷu
maḷpūni | aṇēji kuḍūmbōlēḍu baḷēḷāḍ unḍu|| Δkremōgu
'vja:jzā maḷtuḍu | a:jenu dettu pa:ḍōli|| Δvu | a:ja Δkremō-
ḍḍu 'paḍkē|| Δvu 'pagēla. laḍa:jila | unḍumaḷpūḍu | bokka
'ḷecēji karēḷidā vja:jzōḷḍu kuḍūmbēḍā 'netter-'a:jzā:ji lekā |
a:sti 'karēḍ a:pūḍu||

Literal Translation,

South Kanara district in aḷiyasantāna family of manager rule-according-to that family of property of holder becomes well. Practice in an old man manager becomes. Him-to family of property from his wife and children (Acc.) big-to-make mind (desire) exists. This on-account of he-made-which alienations (Acc.) back-restore-to and maintenance obtain-to suits filing such families in frequently exist. Mismanagement-for suit made-having, him (Acc.) removed-sent-has-to-be. It his mismanagement from worse. It enmity and quarrel and causes, and great cost of litigation from family of blood squeezing-like, property waste-becomes.

Connected Translation.

The manager of an Aliyasantāna family is according to law a trustee of the family properties. In practice an old man becomes the manager, and his desire is to enrich his wife and children out of his trust-properties. On account of this, suits

are frequently instituted for restoring his alienations and obtaining maintenance. He has to be removed from trusteeship through a suit. This is worse than the mismanagement itself. It causes enmity and quarrels, and the family assets are squandered, like one's life-blood.

A Brief Account of Tuḷu Phonological Correspondences.

The following brief sketch aims only at visualizing the correspondence of **Tuḷu** sounds to those of other Dravidian dialects as they appear in closely allied cognates. No attempt is made to propound theories, but the illustrations are made to speak for themselves. Wherever possible, the cognates are so selected as to be representative of the southern (Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu, etc.) the central (**Kūi** and **Gōṇḍi**) and the northern (**Kurukh** and **Brāhūi**) groups of the Dravidian family.

It may be observed here that the ancient primary bases of Dravidian are chiefly monosyllabic being constituted of

- (i) a vowel alone, or
- (ii) a vowel + a consonant, or
- (iii) a consonant + a vowel; or
- (iv) a cons. + a vowel + a consonant;

the dissyllabic and the rare trissyllabic bases are all perhaps derivatives formed from the primary bases with the aid of secondary affix-morphemes.

In the following sketch, therefore, I have found it practical to take up the question of sound-correspondences according to the following scheme. [Note:—The symbols I have used in this chapter are those of the R. A. S. scheme of transliteration with two IPA symbols *u* and *ə*.]

I. Consonants.

- (i) In initial positions.
- (ii) In terminal positions of primary bases.
- (iii) In Morphemes of secondary bases.

II. Vowels.

- (i) In initial or radical positions.
- (ii) In derivatives.
- (iii) Enunciatives.

[In the following sketch – word bases alone are considered, as nearly all of the striking correspondences and relationships between Tuḷu sounds and non-Tuḷu Dravidian sounds would be covered thereby; there are a few cases of interesting parallelisms and divergences in the post-positional endings and conjugational terminations. These are dealt with by me elsewhere.]

I.

(1) Consonants in initial positions.

[The following consonants appear in initial positions of native Tuḷu word-bases.

k, g, c, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, r, l, s, ś, h and y and ʋ.

(1) **k.** Initial **k-** of Tuḷu answers to **k-** of other dialects or to the fricatives or affricates of yet others. A rough cleavage is found in Dravidian between those dialects which preserve an ancient **k** before front vowels and those which have changed this **k** before front vowels to fricatives and affricates. Tuḷu belongs to the former group, as illustrated by the following :

Kittu (fire) — Koḍagu **ciccu**, Tel. **ciccu**; cf. also Gôṇḍi **cicc**, Kurukh **cic**.

Kila, kela (some) — Tam. **śila, śela**.

Kebi (ear) — Tam. **śevi**, Mal. **cevi**, Tel. **cevi**.

Kiṛ- (small) — Tam. **śiṛu**, Mal. **ceṛ-**.

(ii) Tuḷu **k-** before dorsal vowels corresponds to **k-** of the southern and central dialects and to **x-** of the north :

Kai (hand) — south Dr. **Kai, gei** (but Tel. **ceyya**).

Kâlū (leg) — south Dr. **Kâl, Kûi kâlū**,

Koy- (to reap) — south Dr. **Koy-, Gô. koy-, Kuṛ. xoy-**

(2) (i) **g-** corresponds to **g-** or **k-** of other dialects in certain instances :

gaṇḍu (male) — cf. Tel. **gaṇḍ āḍ-** (to copulate), Kann. **gaṇḍu** (strength, male)

gaṭṭi (firm, strong) — Kann. **gaṭṭi**, Tam. **katti**, Tel. **gaṭṭi**

Kiṛ-, (to scratch)- Kann. Tel. **giṛ-**, Tam. **kiṛ-**.

gâvu, kâvu (heat, glare) — Tam. *kây-vu*, Kann. *kâv*.

guri, guḷi (hole, pit) — Tam. kuḷi, Kann. Kuḷi, kuḷi,
Tel. groyyi.

(3) c- (i) In a very few instances, the affricate c- corresponds to the fricatives and affricates:

cadappu (leanness) — Mal. **cadappu**

cûdu, sûdu (heat)—Tam. sûdu, Mal. cûdu, Kann. sûdu

Cali, sali (chill) — Kann. cali, Tam. sali.

(ii) In some instances, Tuɟu c- is a rare sub-dialectal variant existing beside t- (and s- in some cases). The cognates in other dialects generally show t. —

Candi (wetness), beside } — cf. Tam. tan (cold, wet)
sampu, tampu } Kann. tan, Tel. tsan.

Câræ (coconut tree) beside } — cf. Tam tâlai ('coconut tree')
târæ, tâlæ } in old texts.

cû, beside tû, sû (fire) — see below.

cêlu (scorpion), beside } — Tam. tēl, Kann. cēlu, Tel.
têlu, sêlu } tēlu, Br. telh.

caræ (head), taræ — south Dr. tala, Kûi tlaù, Gô. talà.
Also cf. caila (oil) for Skt. taila.

4. j- (i) This sound corresponds to c-, ś or j- of other dialects in a few cases :

jari (slope) —cf. Tam. **sari-** (to incline), Kann. **jari**, Mal. **cari-**

jiræ (small) — cf. Tam. *śiru*, Tel. *ciru*.

jadar- (to be scattered), beside } — Tam. *sidaṛ-*, Kann.
cadar-, kedar- } cedar-, kedar

jêvu, jôvu (child) — cf. Tam *šemmal* (child).

(5) ñ- is not a very common sound in Tuḷu, but the influence of the neighbouring Mal. is responsible for the sub dialectal ñ in a very few words like the following:

(1) The influence of Malyâlam is probably responsible for c. in these forms.

ñonñu (shrivelled) — Mal. ñaḷuññ- (to be shrivelled)
 ñekk-, ñakk- (to crush) — Mal. ñekk-

(6) t- (i) In a large number of instances, t- answers to t- of other dialects :

teri- (to be known) — south Dr. teri-

tēy- (to be rubbed) — „ tēy-

tēḷu (scorpion) — „ tēḷ, Br. telh

tôḍ- — „ tôḍ-

(ii) In the following and other instances, t.¹ alternates sub-dialectally with s- and h ; the cognates of other Dr. dialects generally show only t.².

tû, sû, hû, cû (fire) — cf. Tam. tû (bright), Br. tûbe (moon), south Dr. tî (fire)

tôj-, sôj-, hôj- (to appear) — Tom. tônd'ṛ- Kann. tôṛ-, tôr-, Tel. tôns-, Kûi tônj-.

teḷi-, seḷi-, heḷi- (to become clear) — south Dr. teḷi- (to become clear).

(iii) In a very few cases, t- appears to correspond to ś-, etc. c- etc. of other dialects, derived from an original k-; these t- forms are sub-dialectal :

tett-, beside sett- (to rot) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. keḍ- (to become rotten), Tel. ceḍ (to be spoiled).

tutt- (to wear dress), } — cf. Tam. śutt'tṛ- (to go round),
 beside sudd } Mal. cutt't-, Kann. sudd-.

(1) For the classification of the conditions in which some affricates and fricatives are related to k- on the one hand and others to t- on the other, see my papers on "Ancient Dr. k-", "Tuḷu Fricatives and Sibilants" and "Dr. Affricates and Fricatives".

(2) I may point out here that (i) t- forms are generally more common than their variants with s- and h-; (ii) in some instances the Brahmins use s- forms, while others use t- forms. (iii) in some others the "low-class" communities use s- forms, while others (including Brahmins) favour t- forms; and (iv) the Jains and others in the eastern parts of Tuḷu naḍu use the h- variants.

(7) d- (i) The voiced sound d- corresponds to t or d- of other dialects in many cases; the voiced d- corresponding to t- is found in southern dialects like Telugu and Kannaḍa and in the central and northern dialects also occasionally.

daver- (to become loose) — Tam. tavar- (to slip off)
Kann. tavar-, davar-

diñj- (to be crowded, crammed). — cf. Tam tiñj- (to beside)
jiñj- [sub-dialectal] (to be crowded), Tel. cikk- (dense).

(ii) In the following instances with initial ḍ-, the sound owes its initial position to the operation of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift. As pointed out elsewhere by me, the change here involved the conversion of an original initial *ḍ- to d in the mass-dialect of Tuḷu. The aphæresized forms are popular in the folk-speech, while the full forms are retained in several cases in the Brahmins' dialect.

da-mma (left side)	}	cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (left),
da-ttu ("),		Tel. eḍa and ḍâ
beside eḍa (left),		[For the conversion of ḍ- to d-
eḍa-mbu (left side),		initially, cf. Tuḷu adaptations
eḍa-ttu ("),		dambha from Skt. ḍambha, ḍabbi
eḍa-ñku (on the left)	}	from ḍabbi, etc. and cf. also
		the Tel. alternants like ḍig-,
		ḍig- (to descend)

dabbu (crack) — [cf. aḍar, cf. Tam. -(aḍar-vu (crack)
to crack)]

dapp (to plough), } —cf. Kann. aḍak- (to press down)
beside aḍapp }

daræ (fence) beside } — Mal. adir boundary, limit,
aduuru (boundary limit) } fence

de-k-katti (arecanut) } — cf. Mal. aḍekka-k-katti, Kann aḍegatti
-cracker) } aḍekottu, aḍakegatti; Tel. aḍakottu,
aḍkottu

de-k-kâru (space } —cf. south Dr. eḍa(m) (space, room)
between the legs), }
beside aḍa-k-kâru }

dakk- (to cast away), } —cf. Kann. aḍe (to throw or strike
beside Br. s' dialect } with finger)
aḍakk-

dang-, deng (to be hidden), beside **aḍang** } — cf. Tam, Mal. **aḍang-**(to be contained, etc.)

(iii) In the following Interrogatives we find an initial d- (which in some cases alternates sub-dialectally with j-) : **dāṇṇē**, beside **jāṇṇē** (what?)—cf. Tam (y)ēn, (y)ēnna, Kann. (y)ēnu **dā** (which)—Tam. yā-d, yā-v-ad, Kann yād, yāvad, yāvad etc **dā-lā**, **jalā** (anything) **dā-y-eggu**, **jāyeggu** (why?) base yā

(8) n (i) This sound generally corresponds to n- of other dialects:

nīru (water) —south Dr. nīr, Kûi nīr; **niḷ-p-**(to stand, stay) —sound Dr. niḷ, Kûi niḷ. **netteru** (blood)—Kann. **nettar**, Gôṇḍi **nettar**, Br. **ditar**.

naḍu (middle) — south Dr. **naḍu**.

(ii) the following words (from the mass colloquial) with initial n-seem to be the result of Aphæresis:

nuppu (food, meal), beside } —cf south Dr. **uṇ-**(to eat, take
Brahmin's **uṇ-pu** or **umpu** } a meal).
nung (to be dried up) —cf. Tam. **uṇaṅg-**, Mal. **uṇaṇṇ-**, Koḍagu **oṇaṇṇ-**

nuṅgelu, beside **uṇangelu** } —**uṇaṅg-**above.
(what is dried)

netta (of this) beside **indetta**

neḍḍu (from this) „ **indeḍḍu**

nettu (at this) „ **indetṭu**.

(9) p- corresponds to p- of other dialects:

puli (tiger) —south Dr. **puli**, Gôṇḍi **puli**.

puri (worm) — cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. **pulu**, Tel. **purugu**,
Kûi **priu**, Gô. **pupî**

paru (tooth) —south Dr. **pal**

(10) b (i) This sound corresponds to v of some dialects (Tam, Tel, Mal, Kûi. Gôṇḍi) and to b- of others (Kann, Kuṇṇukh Brâhûi).

bar- (to come) — Tan. **var-**, Kûi **va-**, Kann. **bar-**, Br. **bar-**,
Kuṇṇ **bar-**,

bây (month)—Tam, vâý, Kann. báy, Tel. vâý-i, ~~Kur báy~~
bâlae, bârae (plantain tree)—Tam vâl ai, Kann bále

(ii) In a few instances, Tuḷu initial **b-** also corresponds to **p-** of other dialects.

boḍedi (wife) — cf. old Kann. **peṇḍati**, Tam. **peṇḍatti**.

bordu, beside } — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. **pôr**
pordu (battle) } (battle), **porud-** (to fight),
 Tel. **pôru**,

(11) **m-**. (i) **m-** generally corresponds to **m-** of other dialects:

mara (tree) — south Dr. **mara(m)**, Tel. **mrânu**, Kui **mrahnu**, Gô. **marâ**,
 Kur **mann**.

min- (to shine, glitter) — south Dr. **min**.

murk-, **muḷk-** (to sink, } — Tam. **muḷug-**, Kann. **muḷg-**
 to be immersed) } Kûi **muñj-**, Kur **mulx**.

(ii) **m-** in **mêḷi** (marriage) corresponds to **v-**. Cf. Mal. **vêḷi** (marriage), Tam **vêḷ-** (to desire to marry), Kur **beñj-** (to marry).

(iii) (a) In **môḷu** (here) we have Aphæresis (consequent on Accent-shift) and change of **v-** to **m:** ***i-ṽ-uḷu**, [a formation exactly like **aṽuḷu** (there) which is retained in Tuḷu without Aphæresis] **>ṽuḷu >môḷu**,

(b) **mêru**, beside } cf. Tam., Mal. Kann. **ivar**, used as
 sub-dialectal **imberu** } an honorific plural beside its other
 meaning of normal plurality of
 number.

mêru < **im(b)eru** < **iberu** < **i-ṽar**.

(c) **môḷu** (she, this woman) } — cf. **i-ṽ-aḷ** (she, this woman)
 beside Brahmins' **imboḷu** }

Aphæresis is responsible for **môḷu** she (here), as in the instances given above.

(12) **y-** does not appear fully evaluated as a consonant except in a few words like **yân** (1), **yaða** (left side) of the mass colloquial; but a semi-consonantal **y** does crop up before the front initial vowels of Tuḷu words. Tuḷu speakers themselves do not notice this sound and do not regard it as an essential component of the words concerned; nevertheless, the foreigner never fails to distinguish its presence before initial front vowels as in **yenṇe** (oil) **yeñca** (how ?), etc. A similar **y** exists before front initial vowels in other south Dr. speeches.

(13) **r-** occurs in initial positions of a small number of native words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift:

rumb- (to feel off) — cf. Mal. **uruv-**, Tam. **uruv-**
renkæ (wing) — cf. Tam. **irakkai**, coll. **ṛekka**,
 Tel. **rekka**, **irakka**.

reñk- (to roll on the }
 ground), beside **oreñk** } — cf. Tam. **orai**, etc.

(14) **l-** also appears initially, as the result of Aphæresis; it is noteworthy that the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu preserves in many cases the older non-aphæresized forms:

lampu (tender) beside } — Tam. **iḷa-**, **eḷa-**, Kann. **eḷe**, Tel.
eḷampu, **eḷæ**, **eḷata** } — **lê-**, Kûi **la-**

lapp- (to measure), be- } — South Dr. **aḷa-** (to measure,
 side Brs.' **aḷapp-** } etc.)

lepp- (to call), beside } — Tam. **viḷi-**, Mal. **vili-**, Tel. **pilits-**,
 Brs.' (**ũ**) **oḷepp-** } Toda **piṣ-**

lumb- (to wash), be- } — Tam., Mal., Kann. **alamb-**
 side Brs.' **alumb-** }

lakk- (to get up) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. **eḷ-** (to
 rise), Tel. **lê-** (to get up).

(15) **s-** (i) **s-** corresponds to the fricative **ś-** of Tamil, the affricate **c-** of Mal. and the sibilant **s-** of Kann., in the following instances:

suḷi (eddy) — Tam. **ṣuḷi**, Mal. **cuḷi**, Kann. **suḷi**, **suḷi-**
sutt- (to roll) — Tam. **ṣut't'r-**, Mal. **cut't'-**, Kann. **sutt-**

sal-p- (to die) — Tam. *śâ-*, Mal. *câ-*, Kann. *sâ-*.

(ii) **s-** alternates sub-dialectally with **t-** in Tuḷu itself. Vide *supra*.

(iii) A few rare variants with **ś-** are sometimes heard in the enunciation of some people, alternating with **s-** forms: **śird-**, **sird-**, **tird-** (to mend), **śîpæ**, **sîpæ**, **tîpæ** (sweetness), etc.

(16) **h-**. (i) **h-** alternates sub-dialectally¹ with **t-** and **s-** in Tuḷu itself, as already indicated.

(ii) **h-** forms corresponding to certain Kannaḍa **h-** words (derived from original **p-** words) are borrowings in Tuḷu from Kann. (Vide my paper in *Ind. Ant.*, March 1933).

(iii) Initial **h-** in the following appears to be prothetic:

hêr- (to climb) beside **êr-** — Tam., Mal., Kann. **êr**.

helæ (leaf-offering) beside } — Tam., Mal., Kann. **ilai**,
elæ, **eræ** (leaf) } — ele.

haiṭu, beside **aiṭu** (at that), the Loc. of **avu** (that).

hamar- (to be immersed), } — Tam., Mal., Kann. **amar-**
beside **amar-**

Unique Features of Tuḷu Anlaut.

1. The sub-dialectal alternation of **t-**, **s-**, and **h-** in words, the cognates of which in other dialects show **t-**.

2. The partially voiced secondary glottal fricative **h-** in initial positions.

3. The occurrence of **l** and **r** in initial positions of words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift.

4. Initial **ḍ-** < **ḍ-** (derived by Aphæresis).

5. The presence of the voiced sounds **g-**, **j**, **d**, in initial positions.

Of these features, 1 is unique in Tuḷu, 2 is met with also in Kûi, 3 is found also in Telugu and Kûi, and 4 has some parallels in Telugu. The fifth feature is shared in greater or lesser degree by many dialects of Dravidian; Tamil, Mal. and the lesser varieties

(1) It is worthy of note here that only an extremely small percentage of people use **h-** forms instead of the more common forms with **t-** and **s-**.

of these speeches however do not tolerate these voiced consonants in initial positions of native words.

(2) Consonants in terminal positions of bases.

The consonants and consonant-groups (apart from attenuations like *-me*, *-tana*, etc.) appearing in Dr. word-bases are the following:

- (1) *k, ñk, g, ñg.*
- (2) *t, ñt, d, ñd.*
- (3) *t, nt, d, nd.*
- (4) *v, b, mb, p, mp.*
- (5) *c, ñc, j, ñj.*
- (6) *l, ɭ.*
- (7) *r, ɾ.*
- (8) *ɳ.*
- (9) *y, ɕ, ʃ, (j).*

These appear in what we might distinguish here as the primary and the secondary bases.

The following points are noteworthy in connection with Dr. word-formation:

(a) Primary Dr. bases (monosyllabic) may, or may not have, final consonants. In case final consonants are found, these consonants are of the following types:

(i) In a number of ancient bases with short radical vowels, like *aɖ-u*, *kaɖ-u*, *ar-u*, etc., short voiced plosives or other short voiced consonants are found.

(ii) In other bases with short radical vowels, either geminated surds or consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, are met with.

(iii) If the radical vowel is long, single plosives (voiced or voiceless) and consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives are alone found, the geminated plosives (characteristic of (ii) above) being conspicuous by their absence.

(c) While Tamil (on account of its phenomenal tendency to voice inter-vocal surds and surds in contact with nasals) shows

no group formed of nasals and surds, the other dialects of the south (including Tuḷu) tolerate such consonant groups.

(d) The sounds and the sound-groups belonging to each of the sets listed above are related to one another. Caldwell's comments on this point to a certain extent bring out this inter-relationship, though some of his observations require modification and revision in the light of new facts and perspectives. The nasal constituents of the consonant group appear to be secondary growths in connection with the plosives with which they are respectively associated.

(e) These consonants and consonant-groups are conspicuous enough in the southern dialects to be distinguished as such, while they are present in attenuated and modified shapes in the central Indian and the northern dialects.

Primary Bases.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| (1) tēg- (to belch) | — | Kann. tēg-, Tam. tigatt-, Tel. tēp-, dēv- |
| poṅg- (to rise) | — | South Dr. poṅg- |
| tāṅk- (to take care of) | } | — Tam. tāṅg- (to support) |
| tāṅg (to assist) | | |
| agg-æ (shoot, branch) | — | Mal. agu- (shoot) Kûi âk-i (branch, shoot) Tel. âku (leaf). |
| (2) muṭṭ- (to knock) | — | South Dr. muṭṭ- |
| kûḍ- (to be joined) | — | „ kûḍ- |
| naḍ-u (middle) | — | „ naḍ-u |
| taṇḍ-u (stem) | — | „ taṇḍ- |
| (3) ûḍ- (to blow) | — | „ ûḍ- |
| pond- (to rise) | — | „ pond. |
| (ii) Tuḷu medial -d- corresponds to ṛ of Tamil, Mal. old Kann. and old. Tel. | | |
| tud-æ, sud-æ (river) | — | Kann. tuṛ-e, Tam. tuṛ-ai. |
| nûḍ-u (hundred) | — | South Dr. nûṛ-u |
| nâḍ- (to stink) | — | „ nâr- |
| pâḍ-æ (rock) | — | „ pār-ai, pâre, etc. |

(4) This group of morphemes definitely occurs only in derivatives.

(5) (i) ây- (to select) — Tam., Mal. ây-

ey- (to shoot arrow) — „ ey-

(ii) § rarely occurs in Tuḷu as a terminal morpheme.

(iii) s is another derivative morpheme. In Tuḷu, s occurs in pass- beside patt- (to be attached), in ess- beside ett- (to raise a fund) and posur- beside pottur- (to kindle), issæ (now) beside ittæ), less (having called) beside lett-.

(iv) j, a frequent medial sound in Tuḷu corresponds to *three* different sounds of other dialects :

a. -j- in the following answers to -y- of Tamil:

kajapu, beside kayapu — Tam. kay-pu
(bitter taste)

koj-e- (to reap) — south Dr. ko-y-

paj-i (green) — „ pəy-pas; pas-

β. j in the following corresponds to ṛ:

kaj-æ (stain, blackness) — Tam. kaṛ-ai

maj-e- (to conceal) — „ maṛ-ai-

ûj- (to percolate) — „ ûṛ-

âj-i (six) — „ âṛ-

ka-ñj-i (calf) — „ kand'ru, Kann. kaṛu.

tôj- (to appear), beside } — Kann. tôṛ, tôṛ,

tôr- } — Tam. tond'r.

taj-a-p- (to cut) — Tam. taṛ ai- .

γ. Tuḷu -j- answers to -l- in the following.

ijji- (not) — South Dr. il, ill-ai; cf.
Tam. ind'ri also.

pej-æ (kind of Artocarpus) — Tam., Mal. palā-vu, palā.

(6) (i) kal-l-u (stone) — South Dr. kal.

nil- (to stand) — „ nil-

bāl-u (sword) — „ vāl, bāl.

kol- (to cleave to) — „ koḷ-

(ii) -ḷ- in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuḷu corresponds in the following to the peculiar continuative -ḷ- of Tam., Mal., and old Kannaḍa; it may be observed here that in the folk-dialect of Tuḷu the sound corresponding to ḷ in these instances is -r-:

tāl æ, beside folk-speech tār-æ (cocoanut tree)

— Tam. tāḷ-ai ('cocoanut tree')

bāl-æ, bār æ (plantain tree) — Tam. vāl-ai, old Kann. bāl-e
kōḷi, kōri (fowl) — Tam., old Kann. kōḷi.

guḷi, guri (pit) — „ kuḷi

būḷ, būr- (to fall) — Tam. vīḷ- old Kann. būḷ.

It is noteworthy that generally speaking, both the Brahmins' sub-dialect and the folk-speech alike retain -r- corresponding to ḷ- of Tamil, etc., when this sound appears as a constituent of consonant of groups:

parndur (ripe fruit) — cf. Tam., Mal. pala-m.

portu (time) — Tam., Mal. poḷudu,

[beside also poḷtu] Kann. poḷtu, portu, hottu Tel. proddu,
poddu.

urdu (black gram) — Tam. uḷundur.

(7) r- (i) This Tuḷu sound stands for the post-dental r of other dialects in instances like the following:

tīr- (to be finished) — south Dr. tīr-

nīru (water) — south Dr. nīr.

ner-æ (straightness) — south Dr. nēr (straight)

(ii) In some instances r corresponds to the cerebral ṛ of other dialects, which ṛ does not exist in Tuḷu now (as it has either become r or j):

pār- (to fly), to run — Tam., Mal., old Kann. T. pār-

or-æ (sheath) Tam. oṛ-ai; Mal., Tel. oṛ-a; Kann. oṛ-e.

mār- (to sell) — Kann. mār- (to sell) Tam., Mal. mār
(to change).

(iii) Tuḷu r answers to the alveolar lateral l of other dialects in the following:

iræ (leaf), beside ilæ — Tam. ilai. Mal. ila, Kann. ele.

- paru (tooth) — south Dr. paL
 biru (bow) — south Dr. vil, bil.
 kâru (leg) — south Dr. kâl.
 kur-k- (to shake) — south kul-u-kk-

(iv) As noted above, the folk-speech shows r corresponding to l of Tamil, Mal. and old Kann.

(8) ṇ - (i) ṇ corresponds to ṇ of other dialects :

- tanṇu (cold) — Tam. Mal., Kann. taṇ-, Tel. ts-aṇ-
 uṇ- (to eat, take meal) south Dr. uṇ-, Kôl un-, Gô. uṇḍ-
 poṇṇu (girls) — south Dr. peṇ, poṇ

(ii) ṇ in the following corresponds to l of other dialects :

- gâṇ (to glow)—Mal, kâl- (to be ablaze), Tel. kâl- (to burn)
 kêṇ- (to hear)—south Dr. keḷ-, Gô. keṇj-
 kôṇ- (to hold)—south Dr. koḷ-, Tal. kon.

Derivative Positions.

- (1) ul-k- (to be sprained) — Tam., Mal. uḷukk-.naḍa-k-æ
 (behaviour)—Tam. naḍakk-âi. kere-ng-u (root)—Tam.,
 Mal. kilang-u

In the following, the affix is somewhat unique in Tuḷu:—

- pôḍi-g-æ (fear) — Mal. pēḍi (fear), Kann. pēḍi, hēḍi
 (coward)

- male-ng- (to recline) — Tam., Mal. malar-, Kann.
 malag-

- (2) baraḍu (useless) — Tam., Mal. varaḍu, Kann. barēḍu
 maraḍu (barrenness) — Tam. malaḍu
 pijinṭ- (to be twisted) — south Dr. piri-
 kurunṭ- (to contract) — „, kurul-, suruḷ-, etc

- (3) kor-nd-u (tender) — Tam., Mal. kolu-nd-u
 par-nd-u (ripe fruit)— Tam., Mal, pala-m

- (4) [The affixes are derivative]

- uṛ-c- (to go to stool)—cf. Tam. oll-kk- (to empty)
 Alec-, beside alek- } — Tam., Mal. alakk-
 (to shake)

- purñc- (to squeeze) — „ „ pili-
 parñc- (to prattle) — cf. Tam., Mal. **paṛai-** (to speak)
- (5) **aḍavu** (closing) — Tam. **aḍai-vu** Mal. **aḍavu-**
parab-æ, paḷab-æ .cf. South Dr. **pala** (old)
 (old person)
komb-u (branch) — South Dr. **kombu**
aḍep-u (lid, closure) — „ **aḍai-p-u**
- (6) **l** and **ḷ** — (In secondary position **ḷ** is becoming gradually merged in **l**.)
oyl- (to stagger) — cf. Tam **ōy-**
kurul-, kurul- (to be } — Tam, **śurul-**. Kann.
 contracted) } **kurul-**
birelu (finger) — South Dr. **viral**.
uḍalu (belly) — „ **uḍal** (body)
- (7) **r** — normal
tuḍer-u (lamp) — Tam. **śuḍar** (the sun or moon),
 Kann. **cuḍar** (lamp, the sun, moon)
ugur-u (nail) — Tam. **ugir**,
 Tel. **gôru**
begeru (sweat) — Kann. **bevaru**.
- (8) **Tuḷu s'** in the following is probably borrowed from Kann.
- taṇasu** (chilliness) — Kann. **taṇasu, taṇisu**
tinasu (food,) — „ **tinisu, tinasu**
uṇasu (food, meal) — „ **uṇasu, uṇisu**
gaḍusu }
kaḍusu } (heifer) — Kann. **kaḍasu** (heifer)
nigasur (repletion) — cf. Kann. **negasu**, Kann. **negi-**
 (to rise)

1. This **-s-** is related to **-t-, -d-,** etc. in **eḷidu, eḷasu** (what is young, tender), **peridu, perisu** (what is big), etc. of Tamil **eḷidu, eḷasu** (what is young) and **piridu, percu, heccu** (what is big) of Kannada.

(1) Vowels in primary (radical) positions.

(1) Tulu a, â, i', î, u, û regularly correspond to the same sounds of other dialects.

(2) e and ê : (i) These are normal in a number of words like the following : eri- (to burn) elu, ellu (bone), êļu (seven) êr- (to ascend).

(ii) There is a rule in South Dravidian whereby a short radical i (of words of more than one syllable) followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by e : the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the i- forms, while the colloquials show e- words ; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of e- forms. Tulu shows forms with i and e side by side in some cases, and those with e alone in others :

idæ, edæ (place) — Tam., Mal. idam, coll. edam.

ilæ, elæ, eræ (leaf) — Tam. ilai, coll. Tam. elai,
Kann. ele.

tinasu, tenasu (food) — Kann. tinisu, tinasu,
tenasu.

nene-p- (to imagine) — Tam. ninai-, coll. Tam.
nenai, Kann. nene-

nela (earth, soil) — Tam. nilai, coll. Tam. nelai,
Kann. nele

Kerengu (Sweet potato) — Tam. Kilangu,
coll. Kelengu

1. pili (tiger) answering to puli of other Dr. speeches, and pilæ (pollution) corresponding to pulai, pule, pole, show -i-.

In mennu, mennu (spark), menc- (to shine), beside minc, there is an opening of the vowel in Tulu sub-dialectal forms. cf. a similar opening in sub-dialectal tenasu beside tinasu, (food).

(iii) In certain adaptations from IA of words with initial voiced plosives followed by *-a-*, and in a few native words with initial affricates followed by *-a-*, some of the south Dr. speeches show in the colloquial a change of *-a-* to *-e-* or *-æ-*. Of course, the instances where this change occurs in native words vary with the speeches; in Tulu there are instances like the following with *-a-* and *-æ-* side by side:

taræ, caræ, ceræ (head)

gattæ, gettæ (clod, lump)

(iv) Tulu *-ê-* in the following, corresponds to *-â-* of some of the other dialects:

êḍu (goat) — Tam. *âḍu*, Kann. *âḍu*,
Tel. *êḍu*.

êmæ (turtle) — Tam., Mal. *âmai*.

êru (who?) — Tam. *âru*, Kann. (y) *âru*.

ênui (I) beside folk speech *yânui* —

—Tam. *yân*, *nân*, Kann. *ân*, *nân*, Tel. *nēnu*.

(3) *ō-* (i) normal in words like the following:

oñji (one), *ori* (one person) — Tam. *orui*, *ond'ru*, Kann.
ondu.

ôḍ- (to run) — South Dr. *ôḍ-*

(ii) In circumstances similar to those described for *i>e* above, there exists in South Dr. a change of *u>o* also. Tulu shows forms with *u* and *o* side by side in some cases, and words with *o* alone in others: *uḍelui, oḍelui* (belly) — South Dr. *uḍal*,
oḍal.

ugarui, ogarui (brackishness) — Tam. *uvar*.

ṭṭasui, oṭṭasui (food) — Kann. *oṭṭasu*.

oræ (Sheath) — Tam. *uṛai*, coll. Tam. *oṛai*.

mosaḷæ (crocodile) — Tam. *mudaḷai, modaḷai* Kahr.
mosaḷe

(iii) -o-or-ô- in connection with bilabials corresponds to -e (or in rare cases to -a-) of the literary speeches of South India.

ponnu (girl) — South Dr. literary *pen*, *pennu*, coll. *pop*.

bolpu (whiteness) — Tam. *veḷuppu*, Kann. *beḷpu*.

bôḍ — (to want, desire) — Tam. *vēṇḍ*— Kann. *bēḍ*.

por-p- (to pluck) — Tam. *Mal. paṛi* — Kann. *paṛe*.

[It may be noted that in the colloquial of Tam. itself, the bilabials have the power of changing the literary -e- to -o-]

(iv) Tuḷu -o- in the following answers to -a- of other dialects.

oret — (to wrangle) — Cf. Tam. *alatt* —

oṇerui (moss, lichens) — „ *aṇ* — (to be attached closely)

ôvu (which?) — cf. the syntactic Interr. particle-â- of Tam., Mal. and Kann., and also Kûi â (which?)

(v) -ô- in the following corresponds to û of other dialects:

môḍu (cloudy) — cf. Tam. *mûḍal*
(cloudiness)

cf. the following adaptations in Tuḷu from IA:—

môrti (image) for mûrti

môḍæ (fool) „ mûḍha

môtra (urine) „ mûtra

koṣṭa (leprosy) „ kuṣṭa

(vi) -o- in the following few instances appears to be due to the avoidance of initial v.

oḍæ (round cake).

(called vaḍe) — Tam. *vaḍai*.

oḷevu (curve) — „ *vaḷavu*, base *vaḷ*

oḷe (to call) — Mal. *viḷi*— Tel. *pil*.

Tuḷu regularly shows (like Kann. Kur. and Br.) *b* corresponding to *ṽ* of Tam., Tel, Kūi and Gōṇḍi; the above forms with *o*- (apparently) < (*v*) + vowel) are possibly adaptations in Tuḷu of *ṽ*- words from the neighbouring Mal. It may be noted, however, that *oḷe*- (to call) and its counterpart *le*- in the folk speech are very common and frequently used while the form *buḷ-p* (to cry out) normally corresponding to Mal *viḷi*, etc.) is but rarely used in common speech.

(*vi*) -*u*- in the following, neighboured by bilabials, corresponds to -*i*- of other southern dialects:

bûr-, *bûḷ* - (to fall)—Tam. *vîḷ* , *viḷ* , Kann. *bûḷ*:-

buḍ- (to leave) — Tam. *viḍ*-, Kann. *buḍ*-

buḷ-p-(to cry out) — ,, *viḷ-i*-

buḷæ (standing crops) — ,, *viḷ-ai*

(2) Vowels in secondary positions

(1) -*i*- — normal—

er-i- (to burn)

aḍ-i- (bottom)

poḍ-i (powder)

(2) -*a*- — normal in some cases —

kaḍ-a- (to cross), *naḍa*-(to walk), *aḷa*- (to measure), *mada*-(to forget.) etc.

(3) -*e* in verbs corresponds to *ai*- of Tam., and to -*e*- of Kann. *kaḷe* - (to be lost, deducted) — *kaḷ ai*, *kaḷe*-.
aḍe-(to shut) — *aḍ-ai*, *aḍe*.

(4) -*æ*- answers in nouns to Tamil-*ai* and Kann.-*e*.

bâḷæ (plantain tree) — *vâḷ-ai*, *bâḷ e*

iræ, *ilæ* (leaf)—*il-ai*, *elæ*

(3) The vowels *u* and *u* as enunciatives.

(i) As in the other south Dr. dialects, the vocalic enunciative at the end of old monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short terminal consonants, is -u :

kaḍ-u (hard, firm), **naḍ-u** (middle), **puru** (snail, worm), **ar-u** (brim, edge), etc.

(ii) Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels or with short radical vowels followed by geminated consonants or by consonant groups, show generally (see below for exceptions) the enunciative **u** in **Tuḷu**. Colloquial Tamil in similar cases shows -**u**, Mal.-**ə**, Kannaḍa and Telugu -**u** :

nāḍ u (country) — Tam. **nāḍu**, Mal. **nāḍə**, Kann. **nāḍ-u**.
kār u (leg) — Tam. **kālu**, etc.

kaṭṭ-u (bond) — Tam. **kaṭṭu**, etc.

kapp-u (eye) — Tam. **kappu**, etc.

Dissyllabic bases also show - **u** :

pudar-u (name)—Tam. **peyar-u**, Kann. **hesaru**, Tel. **peru**

ugar u (brackish) — Tam. **uvaru**, etc.

baraḍ-u (barren) — „ **varaḍu**, etc.

(iii) Exceptions in **Tuḷu** to the above rule are furnished by instances where labial consonants or dorsal vowels in the neighbouring syllable are found; in all these cases the enunciative is -**u** and not -**u** :

poṇṇ u (girl)

jōv-u, beside **jēv-u** (child, etc.)

bolp-u (whiteness)

ucc-u (kind of snake)

moroḍ-u (empty)

kapp-u (blackness)

(iv) Certain post-positional endings show -**u**; the rule of vocalic harmony pointed out in (iii) above is applicable here too.

ari (rice) — ari-n-u [Acc.] — Br. -n-i
 ari-k-u [Dat.]
 ari-ḍ-u [Loc.]
 ari-ḍḍ-u [Abl.]

ṛu (country village) — ṛu-n-u [Acc.]
 ṛu-g-u [Dat.]
 ṛu-ḍ-u [Loc.]
 ṛu-ḍḍ u [Abl.] — Br. -tṭ-u.

(v) The use of -u and -u in the following personal pronouns is illustrative of the same rule of vocalic harmony:

Honorific āṛ u (they), but ākuṭ-u, the plural proper.

Honorific imber-u (folk-speech mer-u) meaning this person)
 beside mōkuṭ-u (these persons) the Plural proper.

(vi) -u or -u appears in the following conjugational forms; the rule of vocalic harmony is found here too:

(a) Third Person Sing. of the Present, the Past, the Perfect and the Pluperfect tenses:

Compare Third Person Present Sing. malp-uṇḍu of the folk-speech and ampuṇu of the Brahmins' dialect, with the corresponding Past Sing. maltuṇḍ-u, antuṇ-u.

(b) Past participle — (maltuḍu) antuḍu, (having made), but pōtu, (having gone), sūtu, tūdu (having seen), etc.

(c) Third Person Feminine Sing., Past, etc., with -aḷ-u: Pr. malpuvaḷ-u {ampuvaḷ-u, etc.

(d) Second and Third Persons Pl. (Masc. and Fem. only) of all tenses,—with -ar u, er-u: malpuvar-u, ampuvar u

(e) The Neg. tenses corresponding to (c) and (d) in the folk-dialect show -u.

[Note. In (c), (d) and (e) the enunciative is -u only, as the immediately preceding syllable in these cases has no dorsal vowels]

(f) The Neuter Future Third Pers. Sing. with -p- shows -u only [note the influence of the bilabial];

malpu, ampu.

(g) Compare Third Person Imperative (having -aɖ u) with the so-called Potential (having -oɖ u): **malp aɖ-u, amp-aɖ-u** (let him, her, it make) beside **malp oɖ-u, amp oɖ-u** (it is necessary to make) and **maɭtonɖu, antonɖu** (making).

[Note: (1) Excepting the -u of monosyllabic words (see (i) above), all enunciatives (whether u or u) are elided in sandhi in South Dr. dialects; this rule is true of Tulu also.

(2) While in Tam., Mal. and old Kann., the enunciatives need not necessarily appear after the consonants l, r, n, ɳ, ɭ, y, these enunciatives are invariably present in modern Tulu; of the condition of old Tulu we can have no direct idea as materials are lacking. See my paper on **Dr. Sandhi** for further information about the use of enunciatives in Dr.]

Some significant features of Tulu Phonology.

(1) The retention of ancient k- corresponding to the k-derived affricates and fricatives of certain dialects. .

(1) The sub-dialects show t-, s- and h- in initial positions, corresponding mostly to t- of other dialects.

The sub-dialectal variations are unique in Tulu.

(3) The operation of Accent-shift and Aphæresis, resulting in l, r, d (<ɖ), j (and some cases of n and m) assuming initial positions of words.

Some specific instances of this change in Tulu are unique; but aphæresis has operated in Kûi and Telugu also.]

(4) The correspondance of some cases of **Tuḷu** medial-**j**- (and **d**-) to-**r**-of the other southern dialects. [Unique.]

(5) The correspondence of **Tuḷu r** (and intervocal **j** in the Brahmin's speech) to the sound **l** of Tamil, etc.

[This correspondence is met with in certain Kann. and Tel. words also.]

(6) The cleavage between Brahmins' speech and folk-**Tuḷu**.

THE RUDHARI DIALECT.

(High Rudhārī).

Where Spoken. The Rudhārī dialect, discovered by the present writer in 1930, is spoken in a region called Rudhār, which belongs to the Rājā of Chinenī, a jāgīr in Jammu. It is situated about 70 miles north of Jammu town and borders on the lofty peak of Śuddha Mahādeya, a place of pilgrimage with a temple of Śiva flocked by thousands of pilgrims every year. Near it is also situated Gaurī Kuṇḍ, a place where Pārvatī is said to have performed the penance described by Kālidāsa in his Kumāra-sambhava. Rudhār is situated between two rivulets, the Raggī and the **Thaṇḍā Pāṇī**. The Raggī is a larger stream dividing the **Khaśālī** tract from Rudhār, and falling into the Chenab at a point about 10 miles west of **Ḍoḍā** (the dialect of which, the Sirāji of **Ḍoḍā**, has been described in the **Linguistic Survey of India** Vol. VIII, Part II), and about 30 miles west of Bhadarwāh town. The most interesting place in Rudhār is a village recently named Bilandpur by the late Rājā of Chinenī, but the old name of which is **Zaṅgal** "forest." It is situated on a lofty ridge about 7000 ft. high, with a natural grassy tableland on the top, and with dense forests on both sides. The other important villages are **Drāmṛū**, **Rāṅkā**, **Kharaḍh**, **Saṅgā Chaṛhottā** and Assar. Of these five villages, the first three are situated on the lofty ridge mentioned above, and have a dialect of their own, which we shall call **High Rudhārī**, and which will be exclusively treated in this paper. The dialect of the fourth village, **Saṅgā Chaṛhottā**, (which are really two villages representing a number of hamlets widely apart) may be called mid-Rudhārī, while it is called **nālerī Rudhārī** "Rudhārī of the valley" by the inhabitants. The dialect of the fifth village, Assar, a place near the junction of the second stream **Ṭhaṇḍā Pāṇī** with the Chenab belongs to a region which is the lowest part of Rudhār. Its dialect is called by the inhabitants **Kaṇḍhiālū Rudhārī**—the

"Rudhārī of the **Kaṇḍhī** or sub-montane tract" which we shall call **Low Rudhārī**.

History. According to local tradition, **Drāmṛū** is the oldest village. It was originally independent, being ruled over by **Rāṇās** (petty chiefs) who were **Biriāṇ Ṭhakkurs** (and not **Rājṣṭs**) by caste. Here they had their own mintage, until they were driven out by **Rājṣṭ** immigrants from **Chambā**. These **Chambyāl Rājṣṭs** are said to have come from **Bhaṭṭī Chawārī** in **Chambā**. When **Drāmṛū** was seized by the **Rājṣṭs**, the **Biriāṇ Ṭhakkurs** then made a settlement at **Zaṅgal**, now called **Bilandpur**. Later, however, the **Chambyāl** colony at **Drāmṛū** was seized and annexed by **Chinenī**, in which the whole region is now situated. It is important to take note of the fact that the oldest ruling caste here was the **Ṭhakkur** caste and that the **Rājṣṭs** came later. Side by side with these two castes there was a third, the untouchable caste. These untouchables are called "Meghs", and they probably came along with both the above castes from time to time. It is these castes which mainly inhabit the region at present and contribute to the characteristic features of this dialect which is pre-eminently a caste-dialect.

Characteristic Features. Rudhārī has the following main features:—

- I. It is a **Pahārī** dialect.
- II. It is a caste-dialect.

We shall consider these points in order.

I. Rudhārī is bounded on the North by the **Sirājī** of **Ḍoḍā**, on the East by **Khaṣālī**, on the South by **Śeuti**, **Khaṣālī** and **Ḍogrī**, and on the West by **Ḍogrī**. Besides these dialects, **Bhadarwāhī**, being spoken by a much larger number of people, is a **lingua franca** of these valleys and so exerts considerable influence on Rudhārī.

The **Pahārī** features of Rudhārī clearly appear in the following:—

(1) the preservation of **PI j**, as **dʌj** "ten", **ʃuṇ** "hear", **ʃʌʃʃu** "mother-in-law".

(2) the preservation of PI dental surd after a nasal, cf. Rudh.
Bhad. d^hant "tooth", d^hāt "bullock."

(3) The future tense in "I" cf.

	Rudhārī	Bhadarwāhī
"he will be"	bhōla	'bholo
"he will start"	'cal:la	'caləlo

(4) the genitive in "r", cf.

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"of the horse"	'ghorera	'ghorero
"of the man"	mānvera	mēṇero

In its vowel-system Rudhārī has preserved a pre-Bhadarwāhī stage in the following:—

(1) in the Static Participle:—

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"(has or had) arrived"	'ḷora	'ōro
" " gone"	'gaora	'joro
" " eaten"	'kḷora	'khoro

(2) in the Conjunctive Participle—

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"having died"	'marita	'mērtā
"having cut"	'kaṭṭita	'kēṭṭtā
"having fought"	'laṭita	'lēṭtā

In its consonantal system, Rudhārī (High Rudhārī as spoken by the Rājpuṭs and Low Rudhārī in general) has preserved the pre-Bhadarwāhī stage of the peculiar consonants ṭ, ḍ, ḍh so regular in Bhad. and Khaṣ, cf. the following—

	Rudh.	Bhad. and Khaṣ.
"brown bear"	'bhrabbu	'ḍhḷḷebbu
"brotherless woman"	nī'bhrei	nīḍḷai
(a term of abuse)		
"sleep"	nīḍder	nīḍl
"grass"	trəṭ	ṭləṭ
"thirst"	trīṭ	ṭlīṭ

"shoe"	trapper	flapper
"three"	træ	flaɪ
"ringworm"	dadder	dædɪ

Grammatically, its relations with the neighbouring Pahāri dialects may be indicated by the following examples:—

(1) "thou art":—

Rudh.	Khas.	Bhad.	Śeuti
'eɪ	'aɪ	as	hã

(2) "on the horse":—

High Rudh.	'ghoreɪr
Low Rudh.	'ghorebəl
Mid Rudh.	'ghoreur
Khas.	'ghoreɪr
Ś'euti	'ghoreɪr
Sundhlāsi	'ghorebər
Bhad.	'ghorepər

In vocabulary, its close relation with the neighbouring Pahāri dialects may be indicated by the following:—

(1) Numerals.

	Rudh.	Khas.	Bhad.
"one"	ək̤k	ək̤k	akk
"two"	duɪ	duɪ	dui
"three"	træ	flaɪ	flaɪ
"four"	səur	səur	sər
"five"	pang	pang	pang
"six"	ʃa	ʃa	ʃa

(2) Sirāji influence may be noted in the deaspiration of consonants in Rudh. hatt "hand", 'hati "elephant", heɪt "below."

(3) Interrogative pronouns: —

	Rudh.	Khas.	Bhad.
"what"	chə	khjə	kuɲ
"why?"	kə'tan	ki	ki

The following shibboleths indicate its relation with the neighbouring dialect Khasāli:—

	Rudh.	Khas
"my"	māra	'mera
"thy"	tōra	'tera
"died"	'mariga	'mari gja
"above"	ṭikkər	bāmni
"hither"	'idi	'ira
"whither?"	kēdi	kara
"somewhere"	kēṭ'khi	kocch
"but"	pà	par

The following words peculiar to Rudhārī have an interesting bearing on the history of Indian Linguistics:—

'oḍḍna	"to roof a house"
àli	"egg"
'ākhu	"tear from the eye."

The above phenomena clearly establish the existence of High Rudhārī as a distinct dialect. That it differs considerably from the neighbouring Low Rudhārī may be noted from the following words:—

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"whither"	kēdi	'kudi
"above"	ṭikkər	'khaṛa or upper
"where"	kēṭ'i	kūṛi
"somewhere"	kēṭ'khi	'kute
"in this way"	ẽmbre	ĩa

In pronunciation High Rudh. differs from Low Rudh. in the change of j, jh into ʒ, ʒh. cf.

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"if"	ʒe	je
"root"	ʒil	jil
"to sleep"	'ʒhulna	'j hulna
"to fall"	'ʒhaṛ na	'jhaṛ na

In Grammar, the following differences may be noted:—

(1) As noted above, the Locative in High Rudh. has the termination **tr**, but Low Rudh. has **bal** cf.

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"on the horse"	'ghoṛetr	'ghoṛebal

(2) The "potential mood" with the "can" significance in High Rudh. has the root **baṭ-** or **san-**, but in Low Rudh. it has **ṣak-**, cf.

	High Rudh.	Low Rudh.
"I can be"	āṁ bhoī 'baṭṭa or āṁ bhoī 'santa (Rājput).	āṁ bhoī 'ṣakta

āṁ bhoī 'ghanta (Untouchables)

II. It has been noted above that there are three castes in Rudhār. The speech of each of these castes has peculiarities of its own. And then there are over-lappings, giving rise to many complicated permutations and combinations.

(1) Phonetically the following differences may be noted:—

(a) Intervocalic **n** in Rājput pronunciation remains unchanged, as in 'pani "water," 'khana "to eat," but it has become **ṇ** in the pronunciation of the Thakkurs and the Meghs.

(b) Suffixal **k** and **t** in the Rājput pronunciation remains unchanged, but in Megh-Thakkur pronunciation it varies between **g**, **g**, and **g**, **d**, **d** and **ḍ**, cf.

	Rājput.	Megh-Thakkur.
"from the horse"	'ghoṛeka	ghoṛega, ga, ga
"on the horse"	'ghoṛetr	ghoṛe dīr, dīr or ḍīr

(c) In Megh-Thakkur pronunciation there occurs a peculiar **j** (soft **j** as in Russian *maja* "my") which lightly palatalizes the preceding consonant (for details see below p. 450). But the phenomenon does not occur in Rājput pronunciation cf.

	Rājput.	Megh-Thakkur.
"Mares"	'ghorja	ghorja
"(Women) become"	'bhōtia	bhōtia

(narrow transcription ṭa).

(d) For "can" the Rājputs and Thakkurs use the root **san**—, but the Untouchables use the root **shan**—, apparently derived from **PI ksam** cf.

	Rājput-Thakkur.	Megh.
"I am"	āū 'santa	āū 'shanta

(2) Grammatically, the following differences may be noted:—

(a) The Subjunctive Mood differs thus:—

	Rājput	Megh	Thakkur.
"I may be"	bhoū	bhōt or bhōth	bhon
'I may go'	'gacchā	'gacchā	gā
"I may accomplish"	'kēri sā	'kēri 'shaṛā	'kēri'saṛā

(b) In the Personal Pronoun, the second pers. sg. has the stem **tu** in Rājput and Megh speech, but among the Thakkurs it has **ti**. cf.

	Megh-Rājput	Thakkur
"by thee"	tūi	tī
"to thee"	tuian	tiān

But while in the 2nd person sg. the Rājput and the Megh coincide, in the 2nd pers. **genitive plural** the Rājput is left alone, while the Thakkur and the Megh coincide. cf.

	Rājput	Megh-Thakkur
"your"	tu'hara	tūra
Similarly "its"	ijara	ēra
"his"	ti'hara	tēra
"whose"	ki'hara	kēra
"which (of the many)"	kunṛina	kunṛjha

(c) As regards the Past Participle, the Megh-Thakkur participle has "t" more frequently than the Rājput correspondent. cf.

	Rājput	Megh-Thakkur
"washed"	dhoa	'dhota
"drank"	pia	'pita

(d) Similar difference is visible in the Conjunctive Participle, the Rājput̃s changing the final *a* of verbs into *e*, to which *ita* is added, the Megh-Ṭhakkur speech keeping the *a* unchanged. cf.

	Rājput̃	Megh-Ṭhakkur
"having eaten"	'khēṭa	'khaṭa
"having displeased"	ru'jēṭa	ru'jaṭa

The classification of Rudhārī.

The above complications raise a problem for general Linguistics. Is the geographical classification of languages universally applicable? Will not the name of Rudhārī (which is a geographical name) for these caste dialects be arbitrary and misleading? Among which groups of dialects should Rudhārī be classified? Until the caste complications, noted above are explained (a subject for future research), a secure classification of the dialect will not be possible.

May we not provisionally group it along with the Khaṣālī dialect? No doubt there are two difficulties in the way of its affiliation to Khaṣālī. In the first place, Rudhārī has no neuter gender, while all the other dialects of the Khaṣ group have it. Thus cf.

	Rudh.	Other Khaṣ dialects.
"a big serpent"	'baṛa sapp	'baṛa sapp (masç.)
"a big house"	'baṛa ghar	'baṛughar (neut.)

Again, Rudhārī has no epenthesis, while the vowel-system of all the other dialects concerned betrays a definite influence of Umlaut. Thus the Rudhārī plural of 'machli "fish"' is 'machlia, while in the other dialects it is 'mēchli (Khaṣ) or 'michli (Seuṭī).

In spite of the above circumstances, it seems to be desirable to group it tentatively with the Khaṣālī group, for many of the general features of this group characterise this dialect as well. For instance, (*a*) in Rudhārī as in all the other members of the Khaṣālī group, the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix *a*, and of those ending in *a* has the

suffix *e*, cf. 'ghoraseī "with a stone (ghor)" but 'ghoresēī "with a horse (ghora)". (b) the Dative postposition in Rudh., as in all other dialects of the **Khaś**. group is *n* or *ni*. (c) in Rudh., parallel to **Khaś**, in the oblique of all nouns and adjectives ending in *i*, the *i* is changed into *ia* or *ja*, as 'ghoria or 'ghorja "by the mare". (d) Besides the above facts, social reasons seem to require this grouping. For marriage relations between **Khāsāli** and **Rudhāri** people are very common, and consequently the interaction between these dialects is quite natural.

The number of speakers.

According to the estimate of the Zaildār of Rudhār, the total number of speakers speaking the various dialects of Rudhārī is approximately as follows:—

	Number of speakers	Number of houses
High Rudhārī	400	98
Mid Rudh.	100	25
Low Rudh.	100	21

He bases this calculation on the number of houses in which these dialects are spoken, taking four persons as the rough average population of each house.

A description of High Rudhārī.

We shall now take up a systematic description of the dialects.

I. Phonetically, the following phenomena may be noted:—

The vowel-system is simple. The dialect has neither mixed vowels, as in **Bhad**, nor epenthesis, as in **Khaś** and **Bhad**, cf.

	Rudh.	Bhad.	Khaś.
"four"	ʒəʊr	ʒɔr	çəʊr
"caps (women's)"	'juʒia	'jyji	'juji
"fishes"	'mæchlia	'mɛchli	'mɛchli
"with elephants"	'hatia-sēī	'hethi-sēī	'hertia sathi

Besides the back vowels **ɐ** and **ɑ**, as in 'cala "start", 'ghara "pot", there occurs, in the Megh pronunciation, the front-vowel **a**, somewhat like French **a**, after the peculiar palatalized consonants, (cf. p. 445) as in the following:—

"these things (fem.) were washed"	'dhot,a	('dhotja)
"these things (fem.) were spoken"	'boll,a	('bollja)
"these things (fem.) were drunk"	'pitt,a	('pitja)

Of the front vowels, there occur i, ɪ, e and ε but not ε cf.

	Rudh.	Khas.
"hair"	keʃ	kəʃ
"belly"	peʃ	pəʃ
"sister"	bən	bən

e is a very close e and is pronounced as in English "bed", cf.

"by him"	'təni
"by whom?"	'kəni
"come!" (pl.)	'eʃcha

Diphthongs are of more frequent occurrence in Rudh. than in Khas., in which, in many instances, the corresponding sounds are monophthongs or semi-vowels followed by vowels. cf.

	Rudh.	Khas.
"servant"	naokər	nokər
"arrived"	'aorə	'urə
"bring!"	nəa	ɲə
"to her"	təən	tjən
"to this lady"	ian	jəni

As compared to Khasālī and Marmatī, Rudhārī may be called Δ -a dialect, for it has Δ, a where the other two dialects have e, ε, o, o respectively, cf.

	Rudh.	Khas	Marm.
"axe"	'makku	'mɛkku	'mɔkku
"knee"	ʒənu	ʒɛnu	ʒɔnu

The high falling tone is significant in this dialect, cf.

	"foot ball"	'guli
but	"kernel"	gūli
	"eat! (you)"	kha
but	"eat!" (thou)	khə
	"put on"	la
but	"saw"	lə

(2) In the consonant-system, the following special features may be mentioned:—

(a) The suffixal or intervocalic plosives in the Rājput pronunciation remain unchanged, but in the Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation they are vocalized, as has been illustrated above (p. 444). Even the initial *k* of the auxiliary verb 'kəṇṇa "to do" becomes *g*, *g* or *g* in the latter speech, cf.

Rājput	Megh-Ṭhakkur.
--------	---------------

"I am eating"	Aū khæ 'kəṭṭa	Aū khæ 'getta, 'getta or 'getta
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(b) Of nasal consonants, *ŋ* sometimes occurs at the end of words, as *kuṇ* "what" *baṇ*, "forest", but in intervocalic position it does not so frequently occur in Rājput pronunciation, cf. 'kəṇi "by what" 'paṇi "water".

(c) The alveolo-palatal fricatives *ʃ* and *ʃh* are of common occurrence in the Rājput pronunciation, but they are rare in Megh-Ṭhakkur speech, which preserves the original *c* and *ch*, cf.

Rājput	Megh-Ṭhakkur.
--------	---------------

"to graze"	'caṇṇa	'carṇa
"any one"	kēc	'kēc
"fish"	'maṇṇli	'maṇṇli
"calf"	'baṇṇu	'baṇṇu

(d) High Rudhārī has preserved in some instances the palato-alveolar fricative *ʃ* for which the corresponding consonant in the neighbouring dialects is velar cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
"Mother-in-law"	'ʃaṣṣu	ʃəxu	ʃəkḥ
"poison"	biʃ	biX	biḥḥ

(e) Like other Pahārī dialects, Rudhārī has changed the initial PI *v* to *b*, as in *bat* "wind", 'bela "time", but in the interior of words the reverse change occurs, *b* becoming a bilabial *ʋ*, as *babb* "father" but 'baʋiṇ "to the father", 'baʋa "O father!"

(f) An interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of significant double consonants as contrasted with merely long consonants, cf.

"he will speak"	bòl : la
but "you may speak"	bòlla
"he will open"	khòl : la
but "you may open"	khòlla
"to knead"	'san : na
but "to put, accomplish or be able"	'sanna.

(g) But the most interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of Palatalized consonants in the Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation noted above (p. 444). These consonants somewhat resemble the Slavonic palatalized consonants, and not only the plosives, but also the nasal *n* and the lateral *l* participate in this phenomenon. Further examples:

"(women) drink"	'pit,a	('pitja)
"(women) will speak"	bòll,a	(bòllja)
"(women) will do"	kèll,a	(kèllja)
"(we women) will start"	cāl _n ,uĩã	(cāl _n uĩja)
"(we women) will speak"	bònn _n ,uĩã	(bònn _n uĩjã)
"(we women) will give"	dèu _n ,ã	(dèu _n uĩjã).

The *n*, has a sound somewhere midway between French *ɲ* and Russian *ɲ*. The exact description of these consonants, however, is a subject for further investigation.

(h) As regards the consonant-groups *tr*, *dr*, *bhr*, it has been noted above (p. 441) that High Rudhārī as spoken by the Rājpuṭs has preserved them. But in Megh-Ṭhakkur speech some words have *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, as in the examples given above, but even here individuals vary.

(i) Rudhārī has great aversion to nasality. Nasality in the other dialects of the **Khas.** group is an incident or often the only indication of the Grammatical Plural number, but in Rudhārī this distinctive feature of plural does not occur in oblique cases of nouns and adjectives, nor has the dialect shown any substitute for this nasality. Thus 'ghore-sei means at the same time "with the horse" or "with the horses", and only the context will show whether one or many horses are meant. In

the nominative plural (fem.) **Khaś.** has **ṛibbā** for “tongues”, but **Rudh.** has **ṛibba**, without nasality. A striking example of this aversion is **mān** “to the black bean”, dative of **mā** (Skr. *māṣa-*). In this word the vowel **a** has absolutely no trace of nasalisation, as it has in English “man”.

More details regarding this will be noticed as we proceed with morphology.

II. Grammatically, the following general points may be noted:—

(1) **Rudhārī**, like other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, has a final **a** in words like **'ghoṛa** “horse”, **'māra** “my”, **'kala** “black”, **tia** “was”.

(2) **Rudh.** has no neuter gender, as noted above (p. 446). It has only two genders, masc. and fem.

(3) Like **Bhad.** and other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, **Rudhārī** shows distinction of gender even in *personal* pronoun 2nd person plural, cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
“you (men)”	tu	tu	tus
“you (women)”	tūa	tūā	'tūsa

But unlike these dialects, *it does not have* this distinction in the first person, cf.

	Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
“we (men)”	ā	ā	as
“we (women)”	ā	ā̃	'asā

(4) **Rudhārī** has no distinction for the plural number in the oblique of nouns and adjectives (p. 450).

(5) As in other dialects of the **Khaś.** group, the oblique (except the agent case) of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix **a**, and of those ending in **a** has the suffix **e**, (cf. p. 447); thus the instrumental sg. of the word **ghoṛ** which means “a stone” both in **Khaś.** (including **Rudh.**) and **Bhad.** is in **Khaś.** group **'ghoṛa-seī** “with a stone,” but of **'ghoṛa** “horse” it is **'ghoṛeseī** “with a horse”. In **Bhad.**, however, **'ghoṛeseī** is

the form in both senses, and only the context will show whether Bhad. 'ghore-sqī means "with a horse" or "with a stone". The genitive in Rudh, however, is an exception, which has e in both the senses, cf. Rudh. 'ghorera, which has four meanings—: "of the horse", "of the horses", "of stone", "of stones".

(6) As in other dialects of the Khas group, the final i of all nouns and adjectives is, in oblique cases, changed into ia. cf.

"thy mare struck me" tōria 'ghoria Aū 'mara.
 "he made a sign with a finger" 'tēni 'aṅgulia-sqī sart ki

(7) A feature peculiar to Rudh. is the nom. fem. pl. in ia, cf.

"I ate many chupātis":—

Rudh.	mī 'baṭia 'roṭṭia khaia
Khas.	mī 'bēri 'roṭṭi khei
Bhad.	mī 'mēti 'roṭṭi khei

III. We shall now describe the grammatical peculiarities in due order.

(1) Declension of nouns and adjectives.

(a) The nominative case of fem. nouns and adjectives ends in ia, corresponding to iā in Hindī and Panjābī, cf. 'ghoria "mares", Khas. 'ghori, Bhad. 'ghōri.

(b) The agent case sg. and pl. of all nouns and adjectives ends in e, whether the word ends in a vowel or a consonant (cf. p. 451). Thus 'ghore has four meanings:—

(i) "by a horse" (ii) "by horses" (iii) "by a stone" (iv) "by stones".

(c) The dative case sg. and pl. has the termination n, Khas. having ni (as in Curāhī) but Bhad. ŋo. If the stem ends in a consonant, preterminal a is added to it, as 'ghoran "to the stone", but if it ends in a simple vowel, ia, ua or ia is added, cf.

"to the horse or horses"	'ghoran.
"to the oilman or oilmen"	'telien.
"to the man or men"	mānuan.

If the word ends in a diphthong, the alternation may be noticed from the following examples:—

"to the rain or to the rains" 'dewan
 "to the crow or to the crows" 'kawan.

Besides the Dative of Purpose, which has the termination *n*, the dialect has another dative which may be called "Acquisitive" according to the terminology of (European) classical Grammarians*. It is the Dative of use or benefit, signifying "for the use of", "for the sake of". The termination for the Acquisitive in Khas. group (including High Rudhāri) is interesting. It is 'kite, **PI** *kṛte* "for the sake of". cf.

"for myself" 'Apne 'kite.

Here, according to the speakers, 'Apnīan (with the *-n* dative) will be wrong. cf.

'mika 'Apnekite bi 'pura 'pēsa nēi 'eṣe "I have no money sufficient even for myself."

(*d*) The genitive has the termination 'era ('era after the feminines in *i*) for both the numbers and genders, whether the word ends in a consonant or a vowel. cf.

"of the brother or of brothers" 'bhrāera.
 "of the horse or of horses, of stone or of stones" 'ghoṛera
 "of the man or of men" mānuera
 "of the mare or of mares" 'ghoṛiēra
 "of the mother-in-law or of mothers-in-law" 'jājjuera

The dialect, in this respect, differs from both Khas. and Bhad. cf. the above with the Khas. and Bhad. forms:—

	Khas.	Bhad.
'of the brother'	'bhrara	'dhlāṇero
'of brothers'	'bhrara	'dhlākero
'of the horse'	'ghoṛera	'ghoṛero
'of horses'	'ghoṛera	'ghoṛākero
'of stone'	'ghoṛara	'ghoṛero

*cf. Paley: Euripides (1874) Vol. II, p. 16.

"of stones"	'ghorara	'ghorākero
"of the mare"	'ghoriara	'ghorero
"of the mares"	'ghoriāra	'ghorikero
"of the mother-in-law	jəxuara	'jikkhākero

(e) In High Rudhārī, as in the other dialects of the Khas. group, there are two cases—the Ablative and the Allative¹ (the "near" case)—which have the same termination *ka*, thus 'gharaka means "near the house" and also "from the house." In Bhad. however, only the Allative has *kā*, the Ablative having 'kērā cf. Bhad.

"near the house"	'gharekā
but "from the house"	'gharekērā

The Allative case is also used in connection with the verb 'mīna "to meet," e.g.

"Finally" all the brothers came and met Rāma":—'patta 'sare bhra ramaka 'eśchita 'mīle. Here 'ramaka is Allative, lit. meaning "near or approaching Rāma," and is used in connection with the verb 'mīle "met."

The following interesting sentence, in which both the Ablative and the Allative cases are used, will illustrate the difference between them—

"I am afraid of going near Rāma":—

Rudh. aū ramaka gāśhneka 'darta

Bhad. aū 'rameka 'gānekērā 'darta

Here Rudh. has *ka* in both cases, Bhad. has *kā* in the Allative, 'kērā in the Ablative. The Allative is also used in the sense of possession e. g.

"My brother has a hundred Rupees."—

māre 'bhajjeka ēkk jao rə'pajje ēsən

(f) The Elative or "out of" case is signified by the postposition *māta* among the Rājput̃s and *māga* among the Meghs and Thakkurs cf.

1. Vide Eliot's Finish Grammar, P. 145.

	Rājput	Megh Thakkur.
"out of the well"	khuija māta	khuija Māga

In Bhad. the corresponding postposition is mλzerā or simply 'erā, e.g. khūe-mλzerā or khuerā "out of the well."

(g) The Locative proper has among the Rājputs, the postposition *tir*, but among the Meghs and Thakkurs it is *dir*, *dir* or *ḍir*, cf.

	Rājput	Megh-Thakhur
"on the horse"	'ghoretir	'ghoredir, dir or ḍir.

(h) As in other dialects of the Khas. group and in Bhad., there occurs the "down-from-up" or Delative case. The postposition used in this sense is *tira* or *tra* (in fluent speech). In slow speech the postposition used is *tirga* cf.

"he fell down from the horse":—

tē 'ghoretira 'khirki ga.

"Come down soon from this tree":—

e 'buttatira taole 'escha.

(i) As in other dialects of the Khas. group, there occurs a case which may be called "Directive" case, though in another paper "the Dialects of the Khasālī group" (unpublished at the moment of writing these lines) I have called it the "prepositional dative". The former name, however, is more appropriate, as it better gives the sense of the case. When direction is implied, many of the above cases get an additional postposition *n* "towards". Thus the following forms of the Directive arise:—

(i) Allative Directive (ii) Locative Directive (iii) Illative Directive (iv) Relative Directive.

(i) Allative Directive. In the sense of "towards near", the Allative Directive is formed by the addition of the dative postposition *n* to the postposition *ka* "near",—the whole postposition being *kan* (Rājput), *gan*, *gan* or *gan* (Megh-Thakkur), e.g. "ghorekan" "towards-near the horse".

So Rudh. 'ghorɪan 'ɕala and 'ghorekan 'ɕala have a shade of difference. The former means, "he moved towards the horse," the latter, "he moved towards near the horse", his object being not only to direct himself to the direction of the horse, but also to approach it. In Bhad. also the same sense is indicated by the postposition 'kaʃo, e.g., tẽ ghore-kaʃo 'ɕalo "he moved towards-near the horse".

(ii) Locative Directive. In the sense of "towards-on" the Locative Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative postposition *n* to the Locative postposition *tɪr*, with a connecting vowel *g* between, i.e. *tɪrgn* "towards-on". Rudh. (and the other allied dialects of the Khas. group) will not allow an idiom like "came upon" before the coming is finally effected; it would require "came towards upon" (*tɪrgn*) in this sense. The following High Rudh. sentences will make this difference clear:—

'dharatɪr deo a

"The rain has come (lit. came) upon the mountain". Here the rain has actually reached the mountain, and so the ordinary termination *tɪr* is used.

'dharatɪrgn deo 'aorase

"the rain has come towards upon the mountain".

Here the rain has **not yet** reached the mountain, and so *tɪrgn* is used. The tense "has come" is here equivalent to "has started for".

(iii) Illative Directive. In the sense of "towards-in" the Illative-Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative postposition *n* to the Illative postposition *mã*—the whole postposition being *mãn*, cf. tẽ' phatã mãta 'khaɖɖa mãn 'khirka "He fell from the hill towards in the stream". The "towards-in" suggests his direction towards the stream before he is actually in it.

(iv) Relative Directive. In the sense of "behind-towards" the Relative Directive is formed by the addition of the dative post-

position *n* to the post-position 'patti "behind"—the whole post-position being 'patian "behind towards." cf.

tē märe 'bhrapatian 'daura

"he ran behind towards my brother,"

sle 'gauwapatian jhapp 'ditti

"the leopard pounced behind towards the cow."

(j) As in the other dialects of the Khas. group, the Prolative case occurs in the sense of "over" and the postposition 'tikre is used in this sense, cf. the difference:—

'ghore 'tikre 'makhi 'udre 'ketti

"the fly is flying over the horse"

but 'ghore tir 'makhi 'biffuri

"the fly is sitting on the horse."

(k) As regards the declension of Adjectives, masculine adjectives ending in *a* are not fully declined in all the cases. In oblique cases, as in Hindi, the final *a* is changed into *e*, *e. g.*, cf.

'roṛa mānu "good man"

but i 'roṛe mānuan 'bolla "speak to this good man."

Feminine adjectives ending in *i* change the final *i* into *ia* in oblique cases, cf.

'roṛi 'kuṛi "good girl"

but ja 'roṛia 'kuṛia 'bolla

"speak to this good girl."

All feminine pronominal or possessive adjectives participate in this declension. cf.

tōria 'ghoria Aũ 'mara

"thy mare struck me."

māria 'ammā Aũ 'mara

"my mother beat me."

'rameria 'ghoria mian du'latti 'ditti

"Rāma's mare kicked me."

'razeria mālia mian 'bolla

"the king's mother said to me."

(l) The Definite Article. There occurs in the Dialects of the Khas group a form of the pronominal adjective ending in *-zina* (Rājput) or *-jha* (Megh-Ṭhakkur) in High Rudhārī. The sense of this *zina* or *-jha* somewhat corresponds to that of the Definite Article in English. cf.

būḍḍazina 'kēdi ga "whither is the old man gone?"

Here būḍḍazina refers to the old man of the house, or the old man already mentioned. Similarly

būḍḍizini 'kēdi gei

"where is the old woman gone?"

shēlluzina 'cali pja

"the kid (already mentioned in the story) started"

'bhēḍruẓine 'cali gee

"the sheep (already mentioned) went away."

(m) The declension of numerals in oblique cases is somewhat irregular. cf.

ekk	'ekki sēī	"with one"
dur	'duī sēī	"with two"
trae	trēī sēī	"with three"
ḷa	ḷēī sēī	"with six"
satt	'satta sēī	"with seven"
nao	'naūwa sēī	"with nine"
bī	biā sēī	"with twenty"
ḷao	'ḷauwa sēī	"with a hundred"

(2) In the declension of Pronouns the following features may be mentioned:—

(a) The gender in the personal Pronoun 2nd person Plural has been already pointed out (p. 451).

(b) The genitive Personal Pronoun 1st and 2nd person sg. is peculiar:—

	High Rudh.	Khas.	Bhad.
"my"	māra	'mera	'mero
"thy"	tōra	'tera	'tero

(c) As in Khaś., the stem of the 1st person plu. sequentative participle
 ā — e. g.

ā	"we"
āra	"our"
āka	"from us"
ātīr	"on us"

(d) In the forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns there are variations among some villages. In Bilandpur the pronouns are

i	"this"	(very near)
e	"this"	(less near, but visible)
u	"that"	(distant but visible)
tē	"he or that"	(distant and invisible)

In the village Kharaōṭh, however, neither i nor u occurs. e or u is used instead.

As in Khaś., the word for "his" and "her" is the same, viz., tēra (Ṭhakkur), tī'hara (Rājput).

(3) In Conjugation, High Rudhārī has the following notable features:—

(a) The Verb Substantive has an interesting form 'eṣi "thou art," so much resembling the corresponding Sanskrit and (Homeric) Greek forms. The only modern Indian language with a similar form is Bāshgalī, which has ēsi. A comparison with the neighbouring dialects will show the distinctive features of the Rudhārī Verb Substantive:—

		H. Rudh.	Khaś.	Bhad.
Singular	1.	'eṣā	'Asā	eī
	2.	'eṣi, eṣī, isi	'Asu	As
	3.	'eṣe	'Ase	āe
Plural	1.	'esu	'Asū	Am
	2.	'eṣa	'Asū	Ath
	3.	'eṣən	'Asū	An

(b) The terminations of the Present Indefinite Tense are simple: sg. ta (masc.), ti (fem.; pl. te (masc.); the fem. pl. has a peculiar tia (Rājput), t,a (Megh-Ṭhakkur), cf.

(1) They become":—

Khas̄ H. Rudh.	'bhōtia (Rājput)	'bhōt/a (Megh. Thakkur)
'Khas̄.	'bhāōtī	
Bhad.	bhocən	

Verbs ending in a vowel have a nasal final of the stem in this tense. cf.

	H. Rudh.	Bhad.
"I eat"	'khāta	'khatā
"I drink"	'pīta	'pitā
"I become"	'bhōta	'bhotā

(c) As in other dialects of the Khas̄ group, there is a rich variety of Tenses, with delicate and specific shades of meaning. Besides the Present Indefinite Tense, there occurs the Durative, which is of 3 kinds:—

(i) Incipient Durative. This indicates that the action is either just going to occur, or its early stages have just started. It is formed by adding the Verb Substantive to the present participle. cf.

Δū 'zhulta 'ēsā	"I am just going to sleep, or I am napping, overpowered with sleep."
but Δū 'zhulta	"I sleep" — indefinitely with reference to time or place.
Δū 'kasri 'bhōta 'ēsā	"I am getting ill."
Δū 'khāta 'ēsā	"I am about to take my meal, or, I have sat down to take my meal."

(ii) Imperfect Durative. This indicates that the action has passed the incipient stage, but is yet incomplete. It is formed by adding the present participle of the verb 'kəana "to do." cf.

Δū khae 'kətta	"I am eating"
Δū 'kəre 'kətta	"I am doing"
Δū gā s̄che 'kətta	"I am going".

(iii) The continuous Durative. This has a frequentative or habitual sense. It is formed by adding the present participle of *rāna* "to keep, remain" to the present participle of a verb. cf.

tə səda 'khāta rāta "he is always eating."

(d) The present and the past Perfect are formed from the Static Participle:—

Δū 'kasri 'bhura 'qsā

or Δū 'kasri bhoī 'gaora qsā

"I have become ill."

tə gaora thia

"he had gone."

(e) As in other dialects of the Khas. group, there is a Pluperfect, which is formed by 'Atthi "had been", which is used either independently, as

tə mānu tēri 'Atthi "that man had been there."

or as an auxiliary, *e. g.*

tə jerap pie 'kətta 'Atthi "he had been drinking wine."

A notable feature of this 'Atthi is that it is unaffected by gender and number. Thus it remains the same whether the subject is masc. or fem., sg. or pl. cf.

tə mānu tēri 'Atthi "that man had been there."

tə zənan tēri 'Atthi "that woman had been there."

'təni 'ba'e sor 'mari 'saore 'Atthi

"he had killed many thieves."

'təni 'ba'ria zənania 'mari 'saoria 'Atthi

"he had killed many women."

It is used only in the 2nd and the 3rd person, not in the 1st person.

It necessarily implies the absence of the subject at the time or place referred to by the speaker.

'dəra ɾi 'Atthi "the camp had been here," implying that "the camp now is not here."

Δū tēri ga tə tə 'Agru tēri 'Atthi

"he had been there before I had reached there."

	boll	"say!"
	bōlla	"(he) said"
kəṇna	"to do"	
	'kəṭta (Rājput)	} "he does"
	'gəṭta (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
	'kəre	"he may do"
	kəṛla (Rājput)	} "he will do"
	kəḷla (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
	kəṛ	"do"
	kia	"(he) did"
'sanna	} "to put, to finish, to be able" (generally an auxiliary in the perfective sense).	
'shanna		
	'kəri satta (Rājput-Ṭhakkur)	} "he finishes off"
	'shanta (Megh)	
	'kəri sae (Rājput)	} "he may finish off"
	'sae (Ṭhakkur)	
	'shae (Megh)	
	'kəri salla (Rājput-Ṭhakkur)	} "he will finish"
	'challa (Megh)	
	'kəri sar (Rājput-Ṭhakkur)	} "finish off!"
	'char (Megh)	
	'kəri sa (Rājput)	} "(he) finished off"
	'sha (Megh)	
	'sara (Ṭhakkur)	

(j) Besides the above moods and tenses, the following compound verbs are a special feature of Rudhārī, as of the other dialects of the Khas. group:—

(i) The Past Conditional. The peculiarity consists in the optional use of **tia** (Rājput) or **thia** (Megh Ṭhakkur) cf.

ze Aũ ĩri 'bhōta tia tē tā 'razi bhoĩ gāta tia
or **ze Aũ ĩri 'bhōta tē tā 'razi bhoĩ gāta**

"if I had been here, I would have recovered."

Note the peculiar use, in protasis and apodosis respectively of
'bhōta tia—gāta tia (Rājput)

'bhōta thia — gāta thia (Megh Ṭhakkur)

(ii) The Contingentive or "Probable-mood" is a type of the Past Conditional, in which both the protasis and the apodosis are formed from the Static Participle, and the apodosis indicates

a stronger probability than in the case of the ordinary Past Conditional. cf.

añ dawa pī 'gaora tã 'razi bhoī 'gaora

"If I had taken medicine, I would have (probably) recovered".

(iii) The Dubitative or "Perhaps mood" is another variety of the Subjunctive. It is used with the participle 'zəni "perhaps".

It is formed by the addition of the auxiliary **thi** to the Subjunctive, irrespective of gender, number or person. It is used only in the Past or the Present, not in the Future sense. cf. :

'zəni tē mānu 'hunniā 'razi bhoī gλsche thi

"Perhaps the man may now recover".

'zəni tē zənan hij 'razi bhoī gλsche thi

"Perhaps the woman would have recovered yesterday."

(k) Of the Participles, the following may be noted:—

(i) The Present Participle. Its form is the same as that used in the Present tense, the verbs with a final vowel having a nasality at the end. cf.

'bhōta "becoming"

'khāta "eating"

'pīta "drinking"

'māta "dying"

'botta "speaking"

gāta "going"

'kətta "doing"

e.g. i **'mat̪ha mī kadī 'kasri 'bhōta nēi lā**

"I never saw this boy becoming ill".

(ii) The Past Participle. This Participle, which serves as the Past Indefinite Tense, has the following features:—

(x) Monosyllabic forms like

a "came"

ga "went"

sa "finished"

ba "sown"

(y) **tia** "was"

Megh pronunciation.

in Rājput and occasional

(z) The greater frequency of *t* in Megh-Ṭhakkur pronunciation, cf.

'pita (Megh-Ṭhakkur) "drank". Rājput pia
'dhota " " "washed" " dhota.

Some more examples:—

bhua	"became"	pea	(Rājput	} "lay"
bōlla	"said"	poa	Ṭhakkur)	
kha	"ate"	'ditta		"gave".
za	"delivered"	nig		"brought".
'zarma	"was born"	mua		"died"
'zita	"won"	la		"saw"
rūa	"implanted"	sa	(Rājput)	} "finished"
'katta	(Rājput)	sha	(Megh)	
badda	(Megh-Ṭhakkur)	'sara	(Ṭhakkur)	

(iii) The Static Participle. A special feature is, in the case of roots ending in *a*, the greater frequency of the diphthong *ao* (cf. p. 3) as in

'kha ^a ora	"(has or had) eaten"
'a ^a ora	" " arrived"
'ga ^a ora	" " gone"
la ^a ora	" " seen"
'za ^a ora	" " delivered"

More examples:—

'bhura	"(has or had) become"
'dhura	" " washed"
'bollura	" " said"
'zitura	" " won"
rūra	" " implanted"
'piura (Rājput)	} " " drunk"
'pitura (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
's ^a ora (Rājput Ṭhakkur)	} " " finished
'sha ^a ora (Megh)	
'peura	" " laid"
'dittura	" " given"
niyura	" " brought"
'mura	" " died"
krura	" " done"

{ 'kvṭṭura (Rājput) " " cut"
 { 'bḷḍḍura (Megh-Ṭhakkur) " " "

As in other allied dialects, the Static Participle is also used in the Absolute sense, cf.

'bāṇa 'gaore tē dui bḷri bhue

"it is two years since he went to the forest"

'mī 'pani prure ḡkk 'ghaṛi bhui

"it is half-an-hour since I drank water"

(iv) The Conjunctive Participle represents a vowel-system which indicates a pre-Bhadarwāhi stage, for the latter has epenthesis where the former has two vowels, each in a different syllable (cf. p 3).

	Rudh.	Bhad.
"having died"	'marita	'mērtā
"having sit"	'kaṭṭita	'kēṭṭā
"having started"	'calita	'cēltā
"having reached"	'puzzita	'pyzṭā

When verbs end in a vowel, the final vowel is nasal cf.

'pīta "having drunk"

rūita "having implanted"

'bhoīta "having become"

If the verb ends in **a**, the Rājput speech changes the **a** into **ē**, but in Megh-Ṭhakkur speech **a** remains unchanged cf.

	Rājput	Megh-Ṭhakkur
"having eaten"	'khēīta	'khaīta
"having delivered"	'zēīta	'zaīta
"having put on"	'lēīta	'laīta

(l) The Causatives are formed by the addition of **a**, with the necessary vocalic changes, as **prana** "to make drink," **khāna** "to feed."

In some verbs **l** is further added, as in

zul'hana "to make to sleep"

nu'hana "to make to bathe"

(i) A special feature of Rudhārī and the allied dialects is a compound causative passive participle in the perfective sense, cf.

mī 'mat̪ha z̪ul'halai̪ sha

"the boy was made to sleep by me," the act being finished.

Similarly: —

ruʃai̪ sha	"was irritated"
khua̪i̪ sha	"was fed"
cəluai̪ sha	"was made to start"
nuhalua̪i̪ sha	"was made to bathe."

(ii) Causative conjunctive participle is formed by the above-mentioned rules. cf.

khua̪ita	"having fed"
nuha'laita	"having made to bathe"
cə'laita	"having made to start"
pi'aita	"having made to drink"

(iii) Causative Past Participle is simple. It ends only in a (masc.) cf.

pi̪a	"made to drink"
khua̪	"fed"
z̪ulha'la	"made to sleep"
nuha'la	"made to bathe"
cə'la	"made to start"
bol'la	"called"
ma'ra	"made to beat"

This formation gives interesting doublets: —

	mī t̪ə 'mara	"I beat him"
but	mī t̪ə ma'ra	"I got him beaten"
	'bakra 'cala	"the goat started"

but mī 'bakra 'gharan cəla

"I started the goat for home."

(m) Denominatives, intransitives as well as transitives, are another interesting feature of Rudhārī as of other allied dialects cf.

Intransitive		Transitive	
'uccəna	"to be high"	uc'cerna	"to make high"
'lamməna	"to be long"	lam'merna	"to lengthen"
'roʃəna	"to be good"	ro'perna	"to improve"

Intransitive		Transitive	
' chittōna	"to be white"	chrt'terna	"to whiten"
' kalōna	"to be black"	ka'lerna	"to blacken"
' mandhonā	"to be bad"	mən'dherna	"to aggravate"
' nikṛōna	"to be small"	nik'ṛerna	"to make small"

(n) The Potential mood with the "can"—significance (cf. p. 444) has two roots, viz., **baṭ**- or **saṇ**- (Megh **sh'an**-) cf.

Aū 'kēri 'baṭta		
" " 'satta (Rājput)	}	"I can do"
" " 'shanta (Megh)		
" " baṭna		
" " sanna (Rājput)	}	"I shall be able to do"
" " 'shanna (Megh)		

Note that in Bhad. the root used in this sense is **baṭ**-, in Low Rudh. **ṣak**- (cf. p. 444).

(o) The Passive voice, as in other dialects of the Khas. group, is synthetic. It is formed by the addition of **ō**, (**hō**) to the root, as '**marōta** "I am beaten". It is also optionally quasi-synthetic. In this case it is formed by the addition of participles from '**gacshna** "to go", cf. '**marōi gāta** "I am beaten".

The synthetic form can be declined in all the Tenses and Moods, as the following examples will show:—

"I am eaten"	'khaōōta
"I may be eaten"	'khaūwā
"I was eaten"	khaūwa
"I shall be eaten"	khaūwōna

The Passive in Rudh, as in Khas. group, is "Absolute Passive" because both the agent and the subject of the action are here felt as Passive, having absolutely no control over the action. The English sentence "I am beaten by him" cannot be translated in the Passive form into Rudhārī, because the Rudhārī Passive is beyond the control of the agent. This Absolute Passive, however, can be used for such a sentence as "Look here! I am beaten" '**hera! Aū 'marōta**. Here the fact of being beaten is said to occur independently of the agent. If the agent is mentioned at all, the Ablative, and not the Instrumental case, is used, cf.

təka Aũ 'marð,ta "can I be beaten by (lit. from) him?" Here the Ablative indicates that the so-called agent is no agent at all; at the most he may be a medium through which the action may independently proceed.

This Absolute Passive is often used in the involuntary sense cf.

'mika ʃərap 'piððta

"Wine is (involuntarily) drunk by (lit. from) me."

Similarly:—

'mika ʒhulla "I slept involuntarily". lit. "It was slept from me".

Even the verb 'bhona "to be" takes this Absolute Passive, as it does in Sanskrit. cf.

tə 'appu razi bhəuʔra ('bhura being the active form) "he was cured spontaneously", lit. "he was become healed by himself."

töre bonne-sʒi Aũ ʒor 'bhaððta

"can I be a thief with thy telling?" lit. "Can I be become thief with thy telling?"

(p) For the future Passive participle the Infinitive of the Absolute Passive is used:—

'bhaððna "to be become"

'dhaððna "to be washed"

'bollna "to be said"

'khaððna "to be eaten"

'ʒaððna "to be delivered"

'ʒarmna "to be born"

'ʒitna "to be won"

'ruɳna "to be implanted"

'piððna "to be drunk"

'gəʃhna "to be gone"

'pʒəððna "to be laid"

'nʒəððna "to be brought"

'maɳna "to be dead"

kaʈʈna (Rājput) } "to be cut"

'bəddhna (Megh-Thakkur) }

'əʃhna "to be arrived"

'bɪʃɔna	"to be seated"
'lɑɹɔna	"to be fought"
'marɔna	"to be beaten"
'zɑɹɔna	"to be grazed"
kɑɹɔna	"to be boiled"
zɑɹɔna	"to be burnt"
'tɑɹɔna	"to be evaded"
'pɑɹɔna	"to be brought up"

Note some Causative forms of these Passive infinitives or Future Passive Participles:—

'pʃɑðɔna	"to be made to drink"
kh'ʊɑðɔna	"to be made to eat"
zɑɹðmɑɹɔna	"to be made to be born i. e. to be made to be begotten"
ru'ʃɑðɔna	"to be irritated"
zu'laðɔna	"to be made to sleep"
nu'halɔna	"to be made to bathe"
bol'laðɔna	"to be made to say"
ma'raðɔna	"to be made to be beaten."

(q) For the Causative Passive participle in the perfective sense as *zul'haldɪ ɣhɑ* "was made to sleep" see p. 467, (i).

(r) The Absolute past Passive participle is another peculiarity of Rudh. and other allied dialects. cf.

khāṭwa	"was eaten involuntarily or with difficulty"
but kha	"was eaten"
piṛuṇa	"was drunk involuntarily or with difficulty"
but piā	"was drunk"
dhoṇuṇa	"was washed involuntarily or with difficulty"
but dhoā	"was washed"
kṛuṇa	"was done involuntarily or with difficulty"
kia	"was done."

The intransitive forms of this participle are also used in the impersonal sense, for which see below (p. 472).

(s) The Absolute Passive has also a Static participle, cf. *bhoṇuṇa* "(has or had) been become"

tè appu 'razi bhoũyɾa "he recovered spontaneously"

khaũyɾa "(has or had) been eaten"

kəl 'mika 'masa kɾə khaũyɾa

"Yesterday I could eat pudding with difficulty," lit.

"pudding had been eaten from me with difficulty."

dhoũyɾa "(has or had) been washed"

piuyɾa "(has or had) been drunk"

(i) The Absolute Passive has also a compound participle in the perfective sense, the Causitive passive form of which has already been mentioned (p. 471, (q)). cf.

bhoũyiga "was become spontaneously"

'mat̪tha 'appu 'razi bhoũyi ga

"the boy was cured spontaneously"

bolluĩ ga "was said spontaneously"

'khaũyi ga "was eaten spontaneously"

'zarm̪yi ga "was born spontaneously"

piuyi ga "was drunk spontaneously"

(u) The Denominatives also have an Absolute Passive form cf. uccəḍɔna "to be made tall"

i 'mat̪tha uccəḍɔna muʃkəl ɟse

"This boy can be made tall with difficulty". Similarly

ɟhittəḍɔna "to be made white"

roʃəḍɔna "to be improved"

mandəḍɔna "to be aggravated"

lamməḍɔna "to be made tall"

kələḍɔna "to be blackened"

nikɾəḍɔna "to be made small"

(v) The Impersonal, which occurs in Rudh. as in other allied dialects, can be studied under the following heads:—

(i) Absolute Passive Impersonal (ii) Non-objective Impersonal (iii) Non-subjective Impersonal (iv) Categorical Impersonal.

(i) The Absolute Passive Impersonal is often a past participle formed from Intransitive verbs, cf.

'mika	'hassya	"I laughed involuntarily" lit. "it was laughed from me involuntarily"
"	'zullya	"I slept involuntarily"
"	pjəya	"I lay "
"	glaśhua (Rājput)	"I went "
"	glua (Ṭhakkur)	"I " "
"	'khirkua	"I fell "
"	naḷḷua	"I ran "
"	halla	"I moved "
"	'puḷḷya	"I reached "
"	'eśhya	"I came "

(ii) The non-objective Impersonal is a quasipassive (*i.e.* the ordinary) past participle and has no reference to any particular object. Thus

mī pḷa	"I read"
mī əḷkha	"I tasted"

Here "I read" refers simply to the act of reading, and may be translated "I did reading".

(iii) The non-subjective Impersonal corresponds to English "it rains", "it thunders". cf.

'gurkne 'laora	"it thunders"
'jine laora	"it snows".

(iv) The "cateogrical" Impersonal in the Imperative sense corresponds to Hindī cāhiye, and is translated as "ought to". It is formed from the root 'lɔɾ - "to require", *e.g.* əe tɛɾi 'glaora 'loɾta "we ought to go there", lit., to us there become-gone needs".

IV. Syntax. The syntax of the various grammatical forms has been discussed above under their respective heads.

But the concord in Rudhārī, as in other allied dialects of the Khas group is peculiar. The past tense always agrees with the subject in these dialects, and is not used impersonally. cf.

mī dēdd 'puchi "I asked sister" but cf. Hindi māī ne bahin ko pācha.

Again cf. 'rame Añ mara "Rāma struck me" but Hindi. ram ne mujh ko mārā. In the Rudh. sentence Añ is the nominative case.

While in Rudh. the verbs 'puchi and 'mara fully agree with their subjects, in Hindi these verbs are impersonal in the sense that they are independent of the gender or number of the subject.

PARADIGMS.

t. Declension

(1) Nouns.

(a) 'ghora

	"horse"	
	Singular	Plural
Nominative	'ghora	'ghore
Accusative	'ghora	'ghore
	Singular & Plural	
Agent	'ghore	
Instrumental	'ghore sōi	
Dative	'ghoreian	
Genitive	'ghoreira	
Ablative	'ghoreka (Rājput)	
	'ghorega, ghorega	
Allative	'ghorega (Megh-Thakkur)	
	'ghoreka (Rājput)	
	'ghorega, 'ga, ga	
	(Megh-Thakkur)	
Elative	'ghore māta (Rājput)	
	'ghore māga (Megh-Thakkur)	
Locative	'ghore mā (Illative)	
	'ghoretir (Rājput)	
	'ghore dir, -dir, dir	
	(Megh-Thakkur)	

Delative	{ 'ghoretira (Rājput) 'ghore đira, -đira, đira (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
Directive		
Allative-Directive	'ghorekàn (Rājput) 'ghoregàn, gàn, gàn (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
Illative-Directive	'ghore măn	
Locative-Directive	'ghore tırn (Rājput) 'ghore điran, -điran 'điran (Megh-Ṭhakkur)	
Relative-Directive	'ghorepatian	
Prolative	'ghore tıkre	
Vocative	Sg.	Pl.
	'ghorıa	'ghorıo
(b) 'hati	"elephant"	
	Sg. & Pl.	
Nom.	'hati	
Acc.	'hati	
Ag.	'hatie	
Instr.	'hatie sêf	
Dat.	'hatien	
Gen.	'hatiera	
Abl.	'hatiaka, -ga, -ga, -ga	
All.	'hatika, -ga, -ga, -ga	
El.	'hatia mătă, — mătăga	
Loc.	'hatiamă, hatia tır, đır, dir, đır	
Del.	'hatia tıra, -đira, -đira, đira	
Dirac. All. Dir.	'hatia kăn, -găn, -găn, -găn	
Ill. Dir.	'hatiamăn	
Loc. Dir.	'hatia tırn, -đırn, -đırn, đırn	

	Rel. Dir.	'hatia 'patran	
Prol.		'hatia-ṭikre	
Voc.		Sg. 'hatia,	Pl. 'hatio
(c)	mānu	"man"	
		Sg. and Pl.	
Nom.	mānu		
Acc.	mānu		
Ag.	mānuē		
Instr.	mānuasēi		
Dat.	mānuēn		
Gen.	mānuera		
Abl.	mānuaka, -ga, -ga, -ga		
All.	" " " "		
El.	mānuamāta, -māga		
Loc.	mānuamā, mānuatır, dır, dır, -dır		
Del.	mānuatıra, -dır, -dır, -dır		
Direc. All-Dir.	mānuakân, -gân, -gân, gâ		
Il-Dir.	mānuamân		
Loc.-Dir.	mānuatırân, -dırân, -dırân, -errân		
Rel.-Dir.	mānuapatian		
Prol.	mānuatıkre		
Voc.	Sg. and Pl.		
	mānu		

Note. After n there is some nasality, so that in narrow transcription the word may have been written mānuā.

(d)	ghor	"stone"
		Sg. and Pl.
Nom.	ghor	
Acc.	"	

Ag.	'ghoṛe	
Instr.	'ghoṛasəi	
Dat.	'ghoṛan	
Gen.	'ghoṛera	
	Sg. and Pl.	
Abl.	'ghoṛaka, -ga, -ga, ga	
All.	" " " "	
El.	'ghoṛa māta, -māga	
Loc.	'ghoṛa mā, 'ghoṛatır, -dır, dır, đır	
Del.	'ghoṛa tira, -dıra, -dıra, đıra	
Direc.	All. Dir. 'ghoṛakàn, -gàn, -gàn, gàn	
	Ill. Dir. 'ghoṛa măn	
	Loc. Dir. 'ghoṛa tırən, -dıran, -dıran, jırən	
	Rel. Dir. 'ghoṛa patian	
	Pro. 'ghoṛa ɬikre	
	Sg.	Pl.
Voc.	'ghoṛa	'ghoṛo
(e) 'ghoṛi	"mare"	
	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'ghoṛi	'ghoṛia
Acc.	"	"
	Sg. and Pl.	
Ag.	'ghoṛia	
Instr.	'ghoṛia-səi	
Dat.	'ghoṛian	
Gen.	'ghoṛiera	
Abl.	ghoṛiaka, -ga, -ga, -ga	
All.	" " " "	
El.	'ghoṛia māta, -māga	
Loc.	ghoṛia mā, 'ghoṛia tır, -dır, -dır, -đır	

Del.		'ghoriatira, - ₀ dira, -dira, - ₀ ira
Direc.	All.-Dir.	'ghor ₀ iakàn, gàn, -gàn, gàn
	Ill.-Dir.	'ghor ₀ iamàn
	Loc.-Dir.	'ghor ₀ ia-tiràn, -diràn, ₀ iràn
	Loc.-Dir.	'ghor ₀ ia patian
Pro.		'ghor ₀ ia t ₀ ikre
Voc.	Sg. 'ghor ₀ ie	Pl. 'ghor ₀ io

(f) 'Ammā "mother"

	Sg. and Pl.
Nom.	'Ammā
Acc.	"
Ag.	"
Instr.	'Ammāsēi
Dat.	'Ammān
Gen.	'Ammāerā
Abl.	'Ammākā, -ga, -gā, -ga
All.	" " " "

Note. 'Ammā remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.
Add the usual postpositions.

Voc.	Sg. and Pl. 'Ammā
(g) 'JAjfu	"mother-in-law"
	Sg. and Pl.
Nom.	'JAjfu
Acc.	'JAjfu
Ag.	'JAjfu
Instr.	JAjfu sēi
Dat.	'JAjfun
Gen.	'JAjfuera
Abl.	'JAjfuaka, -ga, -gā, -ga
All.	" " " "
El.	'JAjfuakāta, -māga

Loc.	'Aṣṣuamā, 'Aṣṣuatir, -dir, -dir, -dir
Del.	'Aṣṣuatira, -dira, -dira -dir
Dir. All. Dir.	'Aṣṣuakàn, gàn, -gàn, -gàn
Ill. Dir.	'Aṣṣuamàn
Loc. Dir	'Aṣṣua tīrān, dīrān, -dīrān, -dīrān
Rel. Dir.	'Aṣṣuapatian
Prol.	'Aṣṣuatīkre
Voc.	Sg. and Pl. 'Aṣṣu

(h) zīb (f.) "tongue"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	zīb	zībba
Acc.	"	"
	Sg. & Pl.	
Ag.	zībba	
Instr.	zībba sēī	
Dat.	zībba	
Gen.	zībbera	
Abl.	zībbaka, -ga, -ga, -ga	
All.	" " " "	
El.	zībba mātā, māga	
Loc.	zībba mā, zībba -tīr, -dir, -dir, -dir	
Del.	zībba tīra, -dira, -dira, -dira	
Direc	All. Dir.	zībba kàn, -gān, gān, -gān
	Ill. Dir.	zībba mān
	Loc. Dir.	zībba tīrān, -dīrān, -dīrān, dīrān
	Rel. Dir.	zībba patian
Pro.	zībba tīkre	

(i) **Akkh** (f.) "eye"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	Akkh	'Akkhi
Acc.	"	"
	Sg. & Pl.	
Ag.	'Akkhi	
Instr.	'Akkhi sēī	
Dat.	'Akkhian	
Gen.	'Akkhiera	
Abl.	'Akkhika, -ga, -ga, -ga	
All.	" " " "	
	Sg. and Pl.	
El.	'Akkhi mātā, -māga	
Loc.	'Akkhi mā, 'Akkhitīr, -dir, -dir, -dir	
Del.	'Akkhitira, -dīra, -dīra, -dīra	
Direc.	All. Dir.	'Akkhikān, -gān, -gān, -gān
	Ill. Dir.	'Akkhimān
	Loc. Dir.	'Akkhitīrgn, -dīrgn, -dīrgn, -dīrgn
	Rel. Dir.	'Akkhipatīan
Pro.	'Akkhitīkre	

(2) **Adjectives.**(a) **'roṛa** (masc.) "good"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'roṛa	'roṛe
Acc.	"	"
	Sg. and Pl.	
Ag. and other oblique cases	'roṛe	
Voc.	Sg. 'roṛa	Pl. 'roṛio

(b) 'roṛi (fem.) "good"

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	'roṛi	'roṛia
Ag. and other oblique cases }	Sg. and Pl. 'roṛia	
Voc.	Sg. 'roṛie	Pl. 'roṛio

(3) Pronouns.

(a) Añ "I".

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	Añ	à
Acc.	x	x
Ag.	mī	āē
Instr.	mī-seī	āsēī
Dat.	mīan	ān
Gen.	māra	āra
Abl.	mīka, -ga, -ga, -ga	āka, -ga, -ga, -ga

Note. mī and ā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(b) tū "thou".

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	tū	tū (masc.) tūa (fem.)
Acc.	x	x
Ag.	{ tui (Rājput and Megh) ti (Ṭhakkur)	tūē
Instr.	{ tui seī (Rājput-Megh) ti seī (Ṭhakkur)	tūā seī
Dat.	{ tuian (Rājput and Megh) tīan (Ṭhakkur)	tuān
Gen.	tōra	{ tūra (Megh-Thakkur) to'hora (Rājput)
Abl.	{ tuika (Rājput) tuīga (Megh) tīga (Ṭhakkur)	tūāka, -ga, -ga, -ga

Note. tui, ti and tūa remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(c) i "this" (Rājput)

Masculine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	i	m
Acc.	"	'mā
Ag.	'ni	'nē
Instr.	'isēi	'ināsēi
Dat.	ijan	'inhan
Gen.	ijara	m'hara
Abl.	'ika	'mākā

Note. i and 'mā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	i	'mā
Acc.	"	"
Ag.	'nia	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	iasēi	
Dat.	ian	
Gen.	idra	
Abl.	ika	

Note. ia remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(d) e "this" (Ṭhakkur)

Masculine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e	en
Acc.	"	'enā
Ag.	'eni	'enē
Instr.	ēsēi	'enāsēi
Dat.	ēan	'enan
Gen.	ēra	en'hara
Abl.	ēga	'enāga

Note. è and 'enā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	e	'eṇā
Acc.	"	"
Ag.	'eṇid	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	èaseṇī	
Dat.	èan	
Gen.	èra	
Abl.	èaga	

Note. èa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(e) ũ "that" (Rājput)

Masculine. "he or it" (distant but visible)

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	ũ	un
Acc.	"	'unā
Ag.	'uni	'unē
Instr.	'usēī	'unāsēī
Dat.	uwan	unhan
Gen.	uwāra	unhara
Abl.	'uka	'unāka

Note. u and 'unā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine. "she" (distant but visible).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	ũ	'unā
Acc.	"	"
Ag.	'unia	The rest as in masc. pl.
Instr.	ūaseṇī	
Dat.	ūwan	
Gen.	uwāra	
Abl.	ūaka	

Note. ūa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(f) tè (Megh-Ṭhakkur) tē (Rājput).

Masculine. "he" (distant and invisible).

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	tè, tē	tēn
Acc.	" "	"
Ag.	'tēni	'tēnē
Instr.	tēsēi	'tēnāsēi
Dat.	(Ṭhakkur) tēan } (Rājput) tēan }	{tēnan (Ṭhakkur). 'tēn'han (Rājput) (Ṭhakkur)
Gen.	(Ṭhakkur) tēra } (Rājput) tī'hara }	{'tēnra (Ṭhakkur) 'tēn'hara (Rājput)
Abl	tēga (Ṭhakkur) } tēka (Rājput) }	{'tēnāga (Ṭhakkur); 'tēnāka (Rājput)

Note. tè and 'tēnā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine. "she" (distant and invisible).

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	tè (Ṭhakkur) } tē (Rājput) }	'tēnā "
Acc.	"	"
Ag.	'tēnia	The rest as in Masc. Pl.
Instr.	tēasēi	
Dat.	tjan (Ṭhakkur) } tēan (Rājput) }	
Gen.	tēra (Ṭhakkur) } tī'hara (Rājput) }	
Abl.	tēaga (Ṭhakkur) } tēaka (Rājput) }	

Note. tēa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

The Relative Pronoun zè (Megh. Ṭhakkur)

zē (Rājput) "who"

is similarly declined.

(g) kuṇ "who?"

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	kuṇ	kuṇ
Acc.	"	"
Ag.	'kēni	'kēnē

Instr.	kēsēi	'kēnāsēi
Dat.	kēan (Ṭhakkur) } kēgn (Rājput) }	'kēnan (Ṭhakkur) kē'ngn (Rājput)
Gen.	kēra (Ṭhakkur) } kr'hara (Rājput) }	'kēnra (Ṭhakkur) } 'kēnhara (Rājput) }
Abl.	kēga (Ṭhakkur) } kēka (Rājput) }	'kēnaga (Ṭhakkur) 'kēnāka (Rājput)

Note. kē and 'kēnā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kup	kup
Acc.	×	×
Ag.	'kēnia	The rest as in masc. Pl.
Instr.	kēasēi	
Dat.	kēan	
Gen.	kēra (Ṭhakkur) } kr'hara (Rājput) }	
Abl.	kēaga (Ṭhakkur) } kēaka (Rājput) }	

Note. kēa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

II. Conjugation.

1. Present Indefinite Tense

(a) Verb Substantive.

Singular	Plural
1. 'eṣā	'eṣu
2. 'eṣi, 'eṣī, 'isi	'eṣa
3. 'ese	'eṣu

(b) 'bhona "to become"

Masculine	Feminine	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'bhōtā	'bhōti	'bhōte	'bhōtia 'bhōt,ā (Megh-Ṭhakkur).
2. "	"	"	"
3. "	"	"	"

(c) 'khana "to eat".

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'khāta	'khāti	'khāte	khātia, 'khāt,a (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
2. "	"	"	" "
3. "	"	"	" "

(d) 'marna "to die"

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'marta	'marti	'marte	'martia marta
2. "	"	"	" "
3. "	"	"	" "

(e) 'bonna "to say"

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'bottā	'botti	'botte	'bottia 'bott,a
2. "	"	"	" "
3. "	"	"	" "

(f) 'sanna (auxiliary) "to finish, or to be able"

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'satta	'satti	'satte	'sattia, satta
(Rājput Ṭhakkur)			
'ghanta (Megh)	'ghanti	'ghante	'ghanta
2. "	"	"	" "
3. "	"	"	" "

(g) 'kenna "to do"

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'ketta (Rāj)	'ketti (Rāj)	'kette (Rāj)	'kettia (Rāj)
'getta (M-Th)	'getti (M.-Th.)	'gette (M-Th)	'gett,a (M-Ṭh.).
2. "	"	"	" "
3. "	"	"	" "

(h) gλchna "to go"

Singular		Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	gāta	gāti	gāte	gātīa, gātīa
2.	"	"	"	" "
3.	"	"	"	" "

(i) 'echna "to come"

Singular		Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	'etha	'ethi	'ethe	'ethīa, ethīa
2.	"	"	"	" "
3.	"	"	"	" "

(2) Past Indefinite Tense. For this Tense see lists under Past Participle on P. 473.

(3) Subjunctive (Present)

(a) 'bhona "to be"

	Singular	Plural
1.	bhoā	bhoū
2.	bhoī	bhoā
3.	bhoe	bhoū (Rāj.) bhon (Ṭh.) bhōt or bhōth (M)

(b) 'khanā "to eat"

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	khā	khāu
2.	khēi	khā
3.	khæ	khāū (Rāj.) khan (Ṭh.) khāt or khāth (M)

1. In these abbreviations, M stands for "Megh," Ṭh. for "Ṭhakkur."

(c) 'maṛna "to die"

Singular.

'maṛā

mḷṛī

'maṛe

Plural.

mḷṛū

mḷṛa

mḷṛū

(d) 'bonna "to speak".

Singular.

'bollā

bōllī

'bolle

Plural.

bōllū

bōlla

bōllū

(e) 'sanna "to finish, or to be able".

(i) Rājput:—

Singular.

1. sā

2. saī

3. sae

Plural.

sālū

sā

sālū

(ii) Megh:—

Singular.

1. chā

2. cheī

3. chae

Plural.

chālū

chā

chant

(iii) Ṭhakkur:—

Singular.

1. 'saṛā

2. sḷṛī

3. 'saṛe

Plural.

sḷṛū

sḷṛa

sḷṛū

(f) 'kenna "to do".

Singular.

1. 'kērā (Rāj.)

'gērā (M.-Ṭh)

2. 'kērī (Rāj.)

'gērī (M.-Ṭh.)

3. 'kēre (Rāj.)

'gēre (M.-Ṭh.)

Plural.

'kērū (Rāj.)

'gērū (M.-Ṭh.)

'kēra (Rāj.)

'gēra (M.-Ṭh.)

'kērū (Rāj.)

'kenn or genn (M.-Ṭh.)

(g) gλchna "to go".

(i) Rājput:—

Singular.	Plural.
1. 'gAcchā	'gAcchū
2. 'gAcchi	'gAccha
3. 'gAcche	'gAcchū

(ii) Megh:—

Same as above, except that ch corresponds to sh, as 'gAcchā etc.

(iii) Ṭhakkur:—

Singular.	Plural.
1. gā	gāu
2. gāī	gā
3. gāe	gān

In Megh speech ch corresponds to this sh, as 'gAcchā etc.

4. Future Tense.

(a) 'bhona "to be"

Singular	Plural
Masc. Fem.	Masc. Fem.
1. bhōna bhōni	bhōne bhōni, a bhōn, a
2. bhōla bhōli	bhōle bhōlia, bhōl, a
3. " "	" " "

(b) 'khona "to eat"

Singular	Plural
Masc. Fem.	Masc. Fem.
1. khōna khōni	khōne (Rāj.) khōnia (Rāj.)
	khōne (M.-Th.) khōn, a (M.-Th.)
2. khōla khōli	khōle khōlia, khōl, a
3. " "	" " "

(c) 'marna "to die"

Singular	Plural
Masc. Fem.	Masc. Fem.
1. mārna mārni	mārne (Rāj.) mārnia (Rāj.)
	mārne (M.-Th.) mārni, a (M.-Th.)

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2. | mλrla | mλrli | mλrle | mλrlia , | mλrla |
| 3. | " | " | " | " | " |

(d) 'bonna "to speak"

- | Singular | | Plural | |
|----------|--|---|--|
| Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| 1. | bōnna | bōnni | bōnne (Rāj.) bōnnia (Rāj.)
bōnnuē (M. Ṭh.) bōnnuia (M. Ṭh.) |
| 2. | bō:la (Rāj.) bōlli
bōlla (M.-Ṭh.) bōlli | bō:le (Rāj.) bōllia (Rāj.)
bōlle (M.-Ṭh.) bōlla (M.-Ṭh.) | |
| 3. | " | " | " |

(e) 'sanna "to finish, to be able"

(i) Rājput:—

- | Singular | | Plural | |
|----------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| 1. | sλnna | sλnni | sλnne sλnnia |
| 2. | sλlla | sλlli | sλlle sλllia |
| 3. | " | " | " |

(ii) Megh:—

- | Singular | | Plural | |
|----------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| 1. | chλnna | chλnni | chλnne chλnnuā |
| 2. | chλlla | chλlli | chλlle chλlla |
| 3. | " | " | " |

(iii) Ṭhakkur:—

Same as above, except that s corresponds to **ch**.

(f) 'kēnna "to do"

- | Singular | | Plural | |
|----------|--|---|---|
| Masc. | Fem. | Masc. | Fem. |
| 1. | kēnna | kēnni | kēnne kēnnia (Rāj.)
kēnnuā (M.-Ṭh.) |
| 2. | kērla (Rāj.) kērli
kēlla (M.-Ṭh.) kēlli | kērle kērlia (Rāj.)
kēlle kēlla (M.-Ṭh.) | |
| 3. | " | " | " |

(g) **gλehna** "to go"

(i) Rājput:—

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. g ^l əhna	g ^l əhni	g ^l əhne	g ^l əhnia
2. g ^l əhla	g ^l əhli	g ^l əhle	g ^l əhlia
3. „	„	„	„

(ii) Megh:—

Same as above, except that *ch* corresponds to *ṣh*, and the fem. 1st person plural is 'g^ləchn^hia.

(iii) Ṭhakkur:—

Singular		Plural.	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. g ^l āna	g ^l āni	g ^l āne	g ^l ānia
2. g ^l āla	g ^l āli	g ^l āle	g ^l ālia
3. „	„	„	„

(h) 'əchna “to come”

(i) Rājput Ṭhakkur:—

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. 'əchna	'əchni	'əchne	'əchnia
2. 'əchla	'əchli	'əchle	'əchlia
3. „	„	„	„

(ii) Megh:—

Same as above, except that *ch* corresponds to *ṣh*, and the 1st. pers. fem. pl. is 'əchn^hia.

(5) Imperative Mood.

(a) Present Imperative.

	Singular	Plural
“eat”	khà	kha
“drink”	pi	pia
“be”	bho	bhōa
“come”	Δi	'əṣṣha (Rāj.-Ṭh.) 'əṣṣha (M).

"go"	gà	gλecchà (Rāj.-Ṭh). gλecchà (M).
"say"	boll	bòlla
"give"	dè	dea (Rāj.-Ṭh.) dja (M).
"beat"	mar	màra
(used with de-"give")		
"sit"	bij	'bìjja
"start"	cal	càla

(b) Future Imperative.

	Singular	Plural.
"eat (in future)"	khλijā	khλija
"drink " "	'pijā	pīja
"become " "	bhoijā	bhoija
"come " "	'ēchiā	'ēchia (M. 'ēchia)
"go " "	'gachiā	'gachia (M. 'gachja)
"say " "	bōlliā	bōllia
"wash " "	dhōiā	dhōia
"give " "	dēiā	dēia
"beat " "	mārāi	māria
"sit " "	bìjjiā	bìjja
"start " "	cālliā	cāllia

(c) Importunative Imperative.

	Singular
"just eat"	khēl (Rāj), khāl (M.—Ṭh.)
" " " " "	pīe
" " " " "	bhoi
" " " " "	'ēchī (M'ēchī)
" " " " "	'gacchī (M'gacchī)

	Singular
"just say"	bōllī
" " " " "	dhōi
" " " " "	dēi
" " " " "	mārī
" " " " "	bìjji
" " " " "	cālī

To indicate the plural, the plural of the future Imperative is used, as *khλija*, *pīja* etc.

(6) (Absolute) Passive Voice.

'*khāḍḡna* "to be eaten"

(a) Present Indef. Tense

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1. ' <i>khāḍḍta</i>	' <i>khāḍḍti</i>	' <i>khāḍḍte</i>	' <i>khāḍḍtia</i>
2. "	"	"	"
3. "	"	"	"

(b) Past Indef. Tense

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
<i>khλuwa</i>	<i>kh^ūwi</i>	<i>khaūwe</i>	<i>kh^ūwia</i>

(c) Subjunctive

Singular		Plural
1.	<i>khaūwā</i>	<i>khauwōū</i>
2.	<i>khaūwoī</i>	<i>khaūwa</i>
3.	<i>khaūwqe</i>	<i>khauwōu</i> (Rāj)
		<i>khauwōn</i> (Th)
		<i>khauwōt</i>
		or <i>khauwōth</i> } (m)

(d) Future Tense

Singular		Plural	
Masc.	fem.	Masc.	fem.
1. <i>khaūwōna</i>	<i>kuaūwōni</i>	<i>khaūwōne</i>	<i>khaūwōnia</i>
2. <i>khauwōla</i>	<i>khauwōli</i>	<i>khauwōle</i>	<i>khauwōlia</i>
3. "	"	"	"

Vocabularies.

General features of vocabulary have been noted above (p. 5). An alphabetical list of words found by me exclusively in Rudhārī is given below. In the allied Khasālī dialects these words either do not appear at all, or occur in a different phonetic form.

- 'Abbu, m., scar (of wound).
 echèchke, adj., naughty.
 edhitt̃ha, m., a "half-empty" vessel, a vessel not full.
 Akkeṇ, f., a piece of land set apart for public good, in honour
 of the dead.
 'Aggrōbākhja, adv., in front.
 Agrōṇa pētōṇa, adv., before and behind.
 'Agru, adv., further.
 'Agre, adv., a little further.
 'Agrīan sidda, adj., horizontal (front-side).
 'Antran, adv., inwards.
 An'gal, m. f., large wasp.
 Aḍgudi, interj., shout in addressing a dog.
 'Appnebhōta, adj., voluntary, without permission.
 etar, m., Sunday.
 othorja, m., sleet.
 'Auli, f., the cawing of a crow.
 ḍdhoi, m. f., a tenant.
 ākhu, m., tear (from the eyes).
 ḍli, f., (1) egg (2) young one of honey-bee.
 'badl̃q̃r, f., cloud.
 be'chorṇa } to unplait or comb the hair.
 or be'chorṇa }
 beher, adv., outside.
 'bangur̃i, f., small tool for weeding or digging purposes.
 'baori, f., sown land.
 'battmargu, m. f., traveller.
 betṇaor̃ 'phirṇa, to wander.
 beṭk̃ḍ̃ru, m., chisel.
 'baṭru, m., a thick-featured, clumsy-looking man.
 b̃q̃boi, f., a kind of grass used in rope-making.
 b̃ākh̃r̃i, f., a cow within five or six months after calving.
 'barothoria, adv., in turn.
 bars, m.f., a responsible guardian.
 b̃ēin, f., sister.

- bei, f.**, creases in feet, due to cold etc.
bəkhna, to be arrogantly aloof.
bəla, m., adze.
bhall, f., cattle's dewlap.
bhāḍr, f., wave, undulation on surface of water.
'bhāḍrri, f., corns on feet.
'bhāḍthe, m. pl., a kind of pulse; Hindi **moṭh**.
'bhara, adv., just now.
bhāru, m., a wooden instrument to crush clods of earth.
'bheran, adv., outwards, outside.
bhokk, f., sound of giving a blow (**fisti cuff**).
bhrābbu, m., the brown bear.
'bhrācu, m., gums of teeth.
'bhukna, adj., hungry.
'bhunzleri laṭṭh, f., rainbow.
'bhurkli, f., N. of a small bird with a lovely voice.
bhurz, m., birch-tree.
'bhurdu, m., small stray threads of wool projecting from
 badly woven or old cloth.
bhūṭlā, m., Bhadarwāh.
bhū, m., straw of wheat.
bial, f., early part of night.
bihālṭi, m. f., an agnatic relation.
brēbt, m., Thursday.
bu'ghorna, to pout the lips.
buchorna, to unplat the hair.
'cera, adj., wide.
'cerar, m., width.
che, inter. pron., what ?
'chəkkna, to mince.
'chittu, m., terror, fright.
'cholni (cha (whey)) to churn.
'cipḍu, m., pinching with fingers.
'cṛṛi, f., continuous but gentle trickling or oozing of
 water.

cū'rurū, m., a perennial spring.

cux'thor, m., a wound.

'campa, to be absorbed through the pores of the soil (said of water.)

sethōndla, adj., said of a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.

sap, m., N. of a tree, *Alnus nitida*.

'sēla, adj., brown haired.

'shalchappēl, m., sound of washing the feet with water.

'shalōna, to be paralysed with fear.

'shanna (megh), to finish, to be able, to put.

'shātū, m., an apple of the smallest variety.

'shelrū, m., kid.

shu'matē 'deni, to bring down ripe fruits by beating the tree with long sticks from below.

sikhlēna, to be angry.

sin'tal, m., a mischievous person.

so , f., the apple-tree.

sōgeraath, m. f., an emaciated person with a little flesh on.

suat or cuath, m., a kind of solid (not hollow) bamboo

su'bare, adv., around.

sūbbu, m., ventilator on roof.

dēdēia, m., sister's husband

dēna , adj., right.

dern , m., sheep and goat in general.

dhekek, adj. or adv., a little.

dhe'mana, m., orphan.

'dhrurūna, to pluck out, uproot.

'doppħa, m., crust of pine-wood cut with hatchet, before it is sawed.

dusūnda, m., holy water in a Yajña.

dādēl, m., precipice.

'dangi, f., bench-like wooden cot in shepherd's hut.

'danna, to annoy, as a splinter in the eye.

ḡhandr'ar, m., collected refuse of a whole village.

- dūmbu**, m., a small pool.
ēk'mukkha, adj., constant.
'ēnde, adv., in this way.
ēna, adj., of this sort.
ēra, f., anvil.
gelola, m., grain.
gēdoli, f., gourd.
garola, m., pimples on the face during puberty.
gerāna, to grunt forcibly.
gāṭṭ, m., a cow-pen within an inhabited house.
galb, m., an instrument to make bullets with.
gēi, f., a long footstep.
gēr, m., provisions for a journey.
'ghaduri, f., a field once ploughed.
gham'raora, adj., distracted.
'ghatia f., lengthy songs.
ghir'phindli, f., whirlwind.
'ghrela, m., saliva trickling down in slobbering.
ghritth, f. span (of hand).
ghronj, f., crease on cloth
ghronj'herna, (trans), to crumple.
'ghronjhona (intrans), to crumple.
ghulāna, to dissolve.
gāṭṭ or **gjeṭṭ**, village.
gi'haṭi, one who grinds corn.
gō'tlana, to pass dung.
'grānu, m., goat's gout.
'grecci, f., a narrow and deep way, a gorge.
'greṇi, f., sparrow.
guāṭa, m., the end-pillar to which the frontal beam of a cow-pen is fitted.
guar, f., a cow-shed not within a house (cf. **gāṭṭ**) but at some distance.
'gulghulti, f., a sumptuous meal with a large number of dishes.
guṇ'doṇi, f., ulcer.

guf'koul, f., a bird black like the cuckoo, with a yellowish beak.

halbel, f., belladonna.

'halkher, f., a joint ploughing on the part of many persons with their own ploughs, without any expectation of remuneration.

haðs, m., a flood.

haðsàra, m., shouting to scare away birds or animals.

'haphu, m., opium.

hau, adv., yet.

'hori'Agrian, adv. next year.

hur'u'qi, f., a flood.

r'dhera, adj., (made) of this thing.

'idran, adv., to this side.

jephèkh, adj., quarrelsome.

'kabbna, to abscond, to run away quietly.

kékraʃ, f., N. of a grey-coloured ravenous bird with a long tail.

kelaʃar, adj., arrogant, obstinate.

kan'bubbi, f., ear-hole.

'kappa, m., a dilapidated house.

'kappa, adj., variegated, with a dark ground (spoken of cattle or dog).

keʃer, f., intense exertion.

kaubar, m., a large growth of olive trees.

'kabji, f., a kind of fern.

'kādu, m., bran (of wheat).

'kūgi, f., comb.

kā'got, m., the common lizard.

'kamdhenieri gəl, f., milky way.

keʃtan, adv., why?

ker. f., backbone.

khāʃru, m., a hide skin.

'khaʃian, adv., upwards.

khark, m., N. of a tree: *Celtis Australis*.

kheṛon sidda, adj., vertical.

'kharka, adj., new.

khjep, f., immigration to a foreign land for business.

'khreru, m., descending water.

khreṛ, f., bruise due to a splinter etc.

khreṛu, m., foot-disease among cattle, sheep and goats.

'khrēṣṛi, adj., standing.

'khrīppi, f., a precipice with small projecting stones to climb through.

khunḍ, m., the pole or peg to which an animal is tied.

khu'rala, m., severe hunger.

'khuṣa, adv., willingly, of one's own accord.

kīṣṭ, f., small chip of wood, splinter.

'kleḡgu, m., slight loss of skin by a hurt.

kōkl'ana, to growl (as a bear does).

kōlna, to pull out by pecking.

'krappna, to keep chewing or eating something all the day long.

'kraṭṭna (dant), to gnash (the teeth).

kreṇ'laṭ, f., long-winded talk.

'kreri, f., coarse wool.

ku'bhesta, adj., (1) naughty.

(2) pandering to the lewd tastes of other people by obscene poems and stories.

ku'lakkṛ, adj., stiff-necked.

kulu'hal, f. oil-press.

'kuṇḡha, Pron., which or who (of the many) ?

'kuṅgli, f., cleaned wool.

lapp'deni, to fire, to heat by firing.

'laṭru, m., that part of the pole of a palanquin which is put upon the shoulder.

'lāohona, to appear.

lāṭh, f., waste of time and trouble.

le'raṭ, adj., habitually whining (child).

leter, f., sand.

'likuṛ, m., a species of fern.

lṛṇuṇi, f., tail of sheep or goat.

'lōṭa, adj. emaciated (owing to sickness etc.) and destitute of hair.

'makku, m., axe.

'mandhani, f., churning-stick.

'maṇu, m. small barrier or embankment in cultivated fields.

'maṇṇi, interj. shout for addressing a cat. "O cat!"

'māda, m., Maha Deva.

māru, m, spruce (a species of oak).

māruhaṛ, m, a large growth of oak-trees in a place.

meṭ, m., oracular or astrological ascertainment of some event.

meṭ 'herna, to try to ascertain an event astrologically etc.

mīna, m., month.

mlāṇa, m, blindness.

mlēṛ, m., a twist in a rope, thread etc.

'mocchna, to trim a lamp.

mōkṛi, f., any avowed thing.

'mommra, m, eyebrow of cattle.

mu'caki, f., smacking of the lips.

muḥōdder, f., the hole of a rat or of an ant.

'muṛa, f. pl., a frown.

'nadi, f., a kind of amulet.

'nāwā, adj., new.

'nili ḡeḡel, f., perfect verdure.

'nindroṛ, m., the first day of the marriage ceremony, in which the parents of the bride and the bridegroom give a dinner in their respective homes to their friends.

nr'sphukkhu, m., a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.

niṭḡna, to be filtered.

o'eat, f., jeering, ridicule.

'oddna, to roof a house.

ofā, m., a sigh.

pecokṛu, m., pinching with the whole hand.

pelali, f., straw of paddy.

pe'lāzna, to coax or cajole a person.

'palcona fighting, with loud noise, of dogs or cats with each other.

'palkṛa, m., a halter of willow put round the neck of cattle.

'palkṛu, m., puppy.

peloṭṭ, m., changing sides in sleep.

'paṇe, m. pl., bundles of reaped paddy.

pe'trija, m., father's brother.

'paṭra, adv. a little behind.

'paṭṛian ṣidda, adj., horizontal (backward).

peṭakkha, adj., large-eyed.

paṭṭh, f., female kid.

pā, conj., but.

pa'ṇania, m., a foster-child.

pāra, m., a kind of wild goat, with a brownish colour.

'pathar, f., a line of reaped paddy before bundling.

'pēdakh, f., black strawberry.

pēn,
or **pēn** } m., mill-stone.

'peri, f., foot print.

'perjan, m., a staircase of stone.

'peṭabhurāi, f., pregnant.

'peṭheragi, m. f., a glutton.

'phaṇkna, to become hot (said of water only).

'phēḍḍa, m., a bullock, one of whose horns turns to the right and the other to the left.

'phindli, f., whirlwind.

'phṛṭkna, to be begone (contemptuous).

phī, f., wooden shovel to remove snow.

pho'kerna, to lighten (in weight).

pletōna, to writhe with spasms.

'poccru, m. f., a grasping person.

po'nhao, m., "sacred day"—the ceremony in connection with ploughing on the first day.

'ponjru, m., talon on claw of a bird.

'poru, m., an insect which attacks the various pulses.

potā, m., small wooden plate through which the axle of a spinning-wheel passes.

'poṭu, m., tip of finger.

pu'nerua, to strain a liquid.

pu'nokhra, N. of a yajña for rain. Lambs are killed in it.

'puṇṇwal, f., throat disease among cattle.

re, f., a species of fir-tree.

r̥heo, m., N. of a large tree with small leaves and rather weak wood.

sam'raṇa, to ooze spontaneously (said of water).

sander, m., tool.

saḍṭha, adj., slow.

seploc, m., slough of serpent.

sao, f., whitish mildew in rainy season.

satia, f, (1) the star Arcturus (svātī)

(2) the week from the 13th of Hār to the 20th of Hār.

se, f., a shave.

sēk } postposition, "up to", **əʃaoʃ sēk**
or **sēk** } "up to Asuj".

'sekla, adj., full of gravel or sand.

'sizna, to sprinkle.

'sihar, m., in tilling, the first line of furrow.

'sila, m., ear of corn.

'sithuri, f., a field twice ploughed.

so, m., delivery (cattle's).

sor, f., ice.

'subna, m., dream.

su'kalla, adj., easy.

su'patt, adv., well-done! (ironical), used with some verb, as
 'kɛnna "to do".

surrɔna, to be of stunted development.

'sural, m. pl., hog's hair.

'ʃammaḃali, f., a shoe used during the season of snow. It
 keeps tight.

'ʃaʃʃu, f., mother-in-law.

ʃatthar, m., a small iron bar attached to the wooden post of a
 flour-mill.

'ʃakli, f., a kind of clay.

ʃal, m., a small rice-field.

ʃa'mao, m., a weed which injures the paddy crop.

ʃeil, m., the "hedge-hog pig". A pig like animal with prick-
 les or spines.

ʃein, f., the kite (bird).

'ʃēplabar, f., nonsensical talk.

(ʃēkhura) } panting with the tongue coming out (said
 (or) 'ʃēkhura } , adj. of a dog).

'ʃeli, f., bran (of maize).

ʃēph }
 or ʃēph } , f., foam.

'ʃinthuli, f., the prickles or spines of a hedge-hog pig (vide
 ʃeil).

'ʃina, used in the impersonal phrase, 'ʃine 'laora "it snows."

ʃotti, f., a small hole.

ʃu'kar m., vegetable-field.

'ʃuṇḍi, f., kiss.

'ʃuṭru, m., waste kernel of maize, after removal of grain.

'tantu, m., chips of pine-wood used as torch.

'tēnde, adv., in that way.

trəŋg 'deni, to stitch.

trəṭhna, to stumble.

'trirna, to be rent.

***troppna, to tatoo.**

'tunga, m., N. of a tree, a species of Cormus.

~~tAdd~~, f., log of wood burnt in forest.

tʌnɔ̌holi, f., stem of a flower.

†λor, f., tail of dog or bear.

'tɒplɔna, to err.

'tApru, m., hut.

toia, m., bars in the lettice-work constituting the front of a cow-pen.

'tallia mullia, f. pl., rags.

'tetrana, to cry in pain (said of a goat).

thalona, to be arranged.

***thorku, m. f. tale-bearer.**

ṭigròna, (bat) wind coming from above.

†tintu, m., styte (in the eye).

tinghri, f., lully.

tonna, m., leg of sheep or goat (below the knee).

tumbi, f., vexation, annoyance.

u'dāg, m. f. a very tall person.

U'dhera, adj., (made) of that thing.

ugharona, to be opened.

o'hākna, to bray.

u'khor (uniform stress on both syllables), m., walnut.

U'langre khane, to walk unsteadily, as a drunkard, a very old person, or a child does.

ἄνιστος, m., sexual appetite in a goat.

'prant, adv., beginning from, e. g. 'AzzakaU'prant 'from to-day'.

urni, f., lamb (female)

urnu, m., lamb (male).

usønger, m., close weather.

utònëra, adj., belonging to that side.

utrina, (1) to fall (spoken of hair : dandruff).

(2) to be slightly removed (said of skin).

U'tumpra, adj., reclining.

ūzel, m., handful.

ūrni, f. sewing by stitching two separate pieces of cloth.

'wala, m, udder of cattle.

zāū, adv. at first.

zānger, m. f., a person on whose shoulders the whole responsibility of a business rests.

zānu, m., knee.

'zhalmal, m., dusk, evening time.

'zharṇa, to be lost.

zhōzel, m., tattered and wretched garment.

zhu'lat, m. f., a lazy, sleepy person.

'zhuṇel, f., time for sleep.

zhung, f., tangled hair owing to being uncombed.

'zuzhorṇa, to awaken a person by shaking his arms.

TEXTS.

I. Story of the North wind and the sun.

(a) Megh—Thakkur version

bat te dī'hara

bat te dī'hara ēa 'galladır 'laṛne 'laore thie, ke ā duio mā
'kuṇjha 'jorabala 'ēse. 'ētremā u'nala koṭ 'laīta ēkk 'battmargu
utōnā a. 'tēnā duio mā ē Jart 'baṇi ki zē 'Agri batt'marguēra
koṭ khōl: la, tē 'jorabala bhōla. tēdir bat 'jorasi 'calne 'laga,
pā zēkhēṇ bat 'jorasi 'calne 'laga, tēkhēṇ tē 'battmargu
'apṇa koṭ 'apṇi 'jindusi 'bheṇe laga. bat phir 'haṭi ga.
'phiri dī'hara 'jorasi 'nissa. 'phiri 'tēni batt'margue 'taola
koṭ khōlli 'sara (Megh cha). ē'dherekide 'bata 'manna pea
ke ā duio mā dī'hara 'jorabala 'ēs-e.

Note.—There is no word for any direction (as "North") in most of these dialects.

(b) Rājput version.

bat te di'hara

bat te di'hara ēa 'gallatir laṛne 'lagure tie, ke ā duio mā
'kuṇṇina 'zorabala eṣe. 'eṭremā 'nala koṭ 'leṭta ekk
'battmargu utōnā a. 'tēnā duio mā ī jart 'bani ki zē 'Agri
batt'marguera koṭ khōl:la, tē 'zorabala bhōla. tētir bat
'zorasēi 'calne 'aga, pā 'zēkhen bat 'zoras-ēi 'calne 'laga
tēkhen tē batt'margu 'appa koṭ 'appi 'jindasēi 'bheṛne
'laga. bat phir 'haṭiga. 'phiri di'hara 'zorasēi 'nissa. 'phiri
'tēni batt'margue taola koṭ khōlli sa. ēdherekīte 'bata
manna pea, ke ā duio mā di'hara 'zorabala 'eṣe.

II. The "Prodigal Son".

(a) Megh-Thakkur Version.

'ēkki mānuere dui 'rattṭhe thie. 'nikṛe 'matṭhe 'appe 'bavian
'holla, 'bava, ja'dastira ze 'hesa mārā 'eṣe, tē mian dēi 'sara
(Megh cha). ēdir 'tēni tēra 'hesa 'baṇṭi 'sara (Megh cha).
'kēci di'hare-'patta ē'nikṛa 'matṭha 'appa 'sara kich 'ghanita
'kēci dur 'mulkhamā 'caliga. tēri gāita (Megh 'gacchita) 'tēni
'appi sab daolet 'mande 'kammamā bērbad 'kēri 'sari (Megh
chai). zēkhen tēri daolet 'mukki gei, tē'mulkhamā kal pea. 'phiri
tēan 'taṅgi 'bhōne 'lagi. tē 'mulkhamā 'kēci 'baste mānuere
'gharamā tē naokar bhoi ga. tēre 'malke 'appiā 'zimjā mā sur
'carne 'bheza. zēn 'kādu sur 'khātethie, tēn 'bārja 'khōjjasi
'khāta thia, ze mēlte thie tā tē tēn bi 'kēci nāī 'ditte. zēkhen
tē'appjā 'hofamā a, te 'bonne 'laga, mārē bavega 'kēdre 'talba
vale 'kame eṣen, 'zēnāga 'bārja 'rotṭja eṣen, te āū 'bhukna marne
'lāora. āū 'khaṛa 'uṭṭhita 'appe bavega gā (Megh 'gacchā)
tēsi 'bonnā, mī pēp'mefraga tē 'kape tūāga pap 'kērora 'eṣe, āū
'hunjā tōra 'matṭha bu'lanere laik nāī rā. mian 'appu ga
'talbavala 'kama 'rakhi 'sara (Megh cha).

tè 'kharā 'uṭṭha, tē 'apne 'bavegān 'cala, te hau dur thia, tere 'babbē lā, tere 'babbān dārd ai, tē 'dāura, tē si 'gale 'laggita 'kokka 'ditta. tere 'maṭṭhe tēsi 'bolla, 'bava, mī pəp'meṣṭaga tē 'kaṇe tūāga pap 'keṛura 'eṣe. āū 'hunjā tōra 'maṭṭha bu'lanere lāik nāī rā tere 'babbē 'apne kamrēn 'bolla, khub 'roṣe 'talle ānna, ēan (Meghījan) luāī 'sara (Megh śha). ēre 'hatta aṇ'guṭhi tē 'pera trappəṛ luāī 'sara (Megh śha). ēkk khub 'baḍḍa 'bacchu ānna, tē mārā, 'phiri 'eśha dham khaū tē 'khuṣi m'ānnū 'kide e mārā 'maṭṭha 'mari' gaora thia, 'phiri 'zīta bhoī ga, e 'ghajji 'gaora thia, 'hunjā 'phiri mēlli ga. tā tēn 'khuṣi 'kēnne 'lage.

tēkhəṇ tēra 'baḍḍa 'maṭṭha 'apne 'baḡre mā 'gaora thia. zēkhəṇ tē a, tē 'gharaga 'puzza, 'tēni 'gitera 'kaṇe 'nacnera (Megh 'nacnera) 'raola 'juna. 'tēni ēkk 'apna mānu 'ṣaddaṣ tē 'puḥne laga, ki e chē gall 'eṣe 'tēni tēsi 'bolla, ki tōra bīha 'lora 'eṣe tē tōre 'bave 'khub 'takṛa 'bacchu 'marura 'eṣe, 'kide tē te 'razi 'khuṣi mēlli ga. ēa 'galladira tē roṣ a, te bher 'biṣji ga. tērekide tēra babb bher a, 'tēni tēre 'chande kie, 'tēni 'maṭṭhe āpne 'babīān 'bolla, ki her, āū 'kēdre bārjaga tōri tēl 'laorasā 'kēnne, te tōra 'bollura 'kadi nāī thia 'partura, tā bi tī mārēkide 'gheḷu bi nāī thia 'marura. 'zēkhəṇ e tōra 'maṭṭha a, 'zēni tōri ja'dast 'kap jrja ga lu'taī 'sari (Megh śhai) tī tērekide khub 'takṛa 'bacchu 'marura 'eṣe. tere 'babbē tēgn 'bolla, ki 'maṭṭhia tū hameja mīsi rāta, ze kich mārā eṣe tē tē tōra 'eṣe; mārī 'khuṣi 'kēnni 'roṣi thi, 'kide e tōra bīha 'mari' gaora thia, āz'phiri 'zīta bhoī ga, tē 'ghajji gaora thia, 'hunjā 'phiri mēlli ga.

(b) Rājput version.

'ēkki mānuere dui 'maṭṭhe tie. 'nīkī e 'maṭṭhe 'apne 'babbān 'bolla, 'babā, ja'dastira ze 'hesa mārā 'eṣe tē mian dēī sa. 'kēgi dī'haī e 'patta ē'nīkīa 'maṭṭha 'apna 'sara kich 'ghīnita 'kēgi dur 'mulkhamā 'caliga. tēri 'gacchita 'tēni 'apni sab dāolet

'mande 'kamma-mā bərbad 'kəri sai. zəkən tɪ'hari daolet
'mukki gei, tɛ'mul'khamā kal pea. 'phiri tɪn 'taŋgi 'bhone 'lagi
tɛ 'mul'khamā 'kɛsi 'baste mānuere 'gharamā tɛ naokər bhoi ga.

tɪ'hare 'malke tɛ 'Apɲia 'zimīamā sur 'sarne 'bheza. zən 'kādū
sur 'khāte tie, tɛn 'baria 'khuɟia sɛi 'khāta tia, ze mɛlte tie tā.
tɛ tɛn bi 'kɛsi nɛi 'ditte. zəkən tɛ 'Apɲia 'hofamā a, tɛ 'bonne
'laga, mārɛ 'babbaka 'kɛtre 'talbavale 'kame 'ɛsu, 'zənāka
'bɔdɟia 'rotɟia 'ɛsu, te aũ 'bhukna 'marne 'lagura. aũ 'kharɪ
'ɔtɟhita 'Apɲɛ 'babbaka 'gagghā, tɛ sɛi 'bonnā, mɪ pɛn'mɛfraka

tɛ 'kape tuāka pap 'kɛrura 'ɛs e. aũ 'hunia tōra 'matɟha
bu'lanere lark nɛi rā. mian 'appu ka 'talbavala 'kama 'rakhisa.

tɛ 'kharɪ 'ɔtɟha tɛ 'Apɲɛ 'babba-kān 'cala. tɛ hau dur tia,
tɪ'hare 'babbe lā, tɪ'hare 'babban dārd ai, tɛ 'daura, tɛ sɛi 'gale
'laggita 'ɟuɟi 'ditti. tɪ'hare 'matɟhe tɛ s-ɛi 'bolla, 'baba, mɪ

pɛn'mɛfraka te 'kape tuāka pap 'kɛrura 'ɛs e. aũ 'hunia tōra
'matɟha bu'lanere lark nɛi rā. tɪ'hare babbe 'Apɲɛ kamɪən 'bolla,
khub 'rore 'talle annā eɟn lu'ɛi sa. tɪ'hare 'hatta aŋ'guɟhi
tɛ'pɛra 'trappɛr lu'ɛi sa. ɛkk khub 'bɔdɟa 'bagɟi'u annā, tɛ
māra 'phiri 'ɛsha dham khaũ tɛ'khuɟi mānnū. 'kide i māra
matɟha 'mari 'gaoratia, 'zita phiri bhoi ga. i 'zharɪ 'gaoratia,
'hunia 'phiri mɛlli ga. tā tɛn 'khuɟi 'kɛnne 'lage. tɛ'kən tɪ'hara
'bɔdɟa 'matɟha 'Apɲɛ 'bagɟe mā 'gaora tia. zəkən tɛ a,
tɛ 'gharaka 'puzza, 'tɛni 'gitera 'kape 'nagɲɛra 'raola

'ɟuna. 'tɛni ɛ'k 'Apɲa mānu 'ɟadda, tɛ 'puɟhne 'laga. ki ɛ chɛ
gall 'ɛse. 'tɛni tɛsɛi 'bolla ki tōra bhra 'lora 'ɛse tɛ tōre 'babe
khub 'takɾa 'ɟakkur 'marura 'ɛse, 'kide tɛ tɛ 'razi 'khuɟi mɛlli

ga. ɔagallatira tɛ chapp ai, tɛ bher 'bɪɟi ga. tɪ'harekite
tɪ'hara babb bher a, 'tɛni tɪ'hare 'chande kie. 'tɛni 'matɟhe
'Apɲɛ 'babban 'lolla, ki her, aũ 'kɛtre bāriaka tōri tɛl 'lagurasā
'kɛnne, te tōra bollura 'kadi nɛi tia 'partura. tā bi tuɪ

màrekite 'shelru bi nēi tia 'marura. zēkhēn i tōra 'mat̥ṭha a,
 'zēni tōri jādast 'kappriaka luteī sai, tuī ti'hare kite khub
 'takra 'jakkur 'marura 'ese. ti'hare 'babbe tīgn 'bolla, ki
 'mat̥ṭhia, tū hemeja misēi rāta, zē kich mārā 'ese tē tē tōra
 'ese; mārī 'khuji 'kēnni 'roṛi ti, 'kide i tōra bhra 'mari 'gaora
 tia, az 'phiri 'zīta bhoī ga, tē 'zharī 'gaora tia, 'hunīa 'phiri
 mēlli ga.

Standard List of words and sentences in (High) Rudhārī.

English.	High Rudhārī.
1. one	ekk
2. two	dui
3. three	trae
4. four	gaur
5. five	pane
6. six	ja
7. seven	satt
8. eight	at̥ṭh
9. nine	nao
10. ten	daʃ
11. twenty	bī, bi
12. fifty	pēzā
13. hundred	ʃau
14. I	ā
15. of me	mārā
16. mine	mārā
17. we	ā
18. of us	ārā
19. our	ārā
20. thou	tū
21. of thee	tōra
22. thine	tōra
23. you	tu
24. of you	{tūra (Thakkur) to'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)

English.	High Rudhāri.
25. your	{tūra (Ṭhakkur) {to'hara (Megh-Rājpūt) tè Megh-Ṭhakkur)
26. he	{tē (Rājpūt)
27. of him	{tēra (Ṭhakkur) {ti'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
28. his	{tēra (Ṭhakkur) {ti'hara (Megh-Rājpūt)
29. they	tēn
30. of them	{tēnra (Ṭhakkur) {tēn'hara (Megh-Rājpūt) *
31. their	{tēnra (Ṭhakkur) {tēn'har (Megh-Rājpūt)
32. hand	hatt or hatth
33. foot	per
34. nose	nakk
35. eye	akkh
36. mouth	{khākhra (Rājpūt) {mū (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
37. tooth	dant
38. ear	kann
39. hair	keḥ
40. head	ḥir
41. tongue	zib
42. belly	peḥ
43. back	prṭṭh
44. iron	lōa
45. gold	'sunna
46. silver	'cādi
47. father	{bava (one's own) {babb (another's)
48. mother	{'ammā (one's own) {ma (another's)
49. brother	{br'ha (Megh-Ṭhakkur) {bhra (Rājpūt)
50. sister	bēn

English.	High Rudhārī.
51. man	mānu
52. woman	zənan
53. wife	zanən
54. child	'mat̪ṭha, 'mat̪ṭha
55. son	puttər or 'mat̪ṭha
56. daughter	{kui (one's own) {'kuri (another's)
57. slave	'Δogi
58. cultivator	'Jindar
59. shepherd	pu'hal
60. God	pəpmesər
61. Devil	ʃetan
62. sun	dī'hara
63. moon	{'canni (Megh-Thakkur) {'cādeni (Rājput)
64. star	'tara
65. fire	Δgg
66. water	'pāni
67. house	ghar
68. horse	'ghora
69. cow	gao
70. dog	{'kutta (Megh-Thakkur) {'junā (Rājput)
71. cat	belaṛ
72. cock	kukər
73. duck	bλdk
74. ass	'khota
75. camel	uṭ
76. bird	{'pakhrū or {sī'rollu
77. go	gà
78. eat	khà
79. sit	bij
80. come	ai

English.	High Rudhāri.
81. beat	mar
82. stand	'kharā uṭh
83. die	mar
84. give	də, de
85. run	daur
86. up	ṭikkēr
87. near	'nere
88. down	Ṣṇḍa
89. far	dur
90. before	Agēr
91. behind	'patta
92. who	kun
93. what	che
94. why	kə'tan
95. and	te, tē, 'kane
96. but	par
97. if	ze
98. yes	hā
99. no	nāp
100. alas	hae
101. father	{'bava (one's own) 'babb (another's)
102. of a father	'bavera, 'babbera
103. to a father	'bavian, 'babban
104. from a father	{'babbaka (Rājput) 'babbaga, -ga, ga (Megh-Thakkur)
105. two fathers	dur babb
106. fathers	babb
107. of fathers	'babbera
108. to fathers	'bavian, 'babban
109. from fathers	'babbaka, -ga, -ga, -ga
110. a daughter	{kui (one's own) 'kuri (another's)
111. of a daughter	'kuriara

English.	High Rudhārī.
112. to a daughter	'kuṛian
113. from a daughter	'kuṛiaka, -ga, -ga, -ga
114. two daughters	dui 'kuṛija
115. daughters	'kuṛija
116. of daughters	'kuṛiera
117. to daughters	'kuṛian
118. from daughters	'kuṛiaka, ga, ga, ga
119. a good man	'roṛa mānu
120. of a good man	'roṛe mānuera
121. to a good man	'roṛe mānuan
122. from a good man	'roṛe mānuaka, ga, ga, ga
123. two good men	'dui 'roṛe mānu
124. good men	'roṛe mānu
125. of good men	'roṛe mānuera
126. to good men	'roṛe mānuan
127. from good men	'roṛe mānuaka-ga, ga, ga
128. a good woman	'roṛi zənan
129. a bad boy	'manda 'maṭṭha
130. good women	'roṛia zənani
131. a bad, girl	'mandi 'kuṛi
132. good	'roṛa
133. better	('ika-) 'roṛa
134. best	(sābnāka-) 'roṛa
135. high	'ucca
136. higher	('ika-) 'ucca
137. highest	(sābnāka-) 'ucca
138. a horse	'ghoṛa
139. a mare	'ghoṛi
140. horses	'ghoṛe
141. mares	'ghoṛia

English.	High Rudhārī.
142. a bull	s̄n
143. a cow	gao
144. bulls	s̄n
145. cows	'gauwa (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
146. a dog	'kutta junā (Rājput)
147. a bitch	{ 'kutti (Megh-Ṭhakkur) { junāi (Rājput)
148. dogs	'kutte, junā
149. bitches	'kuttia, junāia
150. a he-goat	'bakkra, thuāt
151. a female goat	bakkri
152. goats	'bakkre, thuāt
153. a male deer	harn
154. a female deer	'harni
155. deer	harn
156. I am	āũ 'əṣā
157. thou art	tũ 'əṣi (or 'əṣī), 'ṛsi
158. He is	tə 'əṣe
159. We are	ā ṣən
160. you are	tu 'əṣa
161. They are	tən ṣən
162. I was	{ Āũ tia (Rājput) { Āũthia (Megh-Ṭhakkur)
163. Thou wast	tũ tia, thia
164. He was	tə tia, thia
165. We were	ā tie, thie
166. You were	tu tie, thie
167. They were	tən tie, thie
168. Be	bho
169. To be	'bhona
170. Being	'bhōta
171. Having been	bhoita, 'bhoida (Rājput) (Megh-Ṭhakkur)

English.	High Rūnhārī.
172. I may be	bhoḍ
173. I shall be	bhōna
174. I should be	ʌū 'bhura 'loṛta
175. Beat	mar
176. To beat	'marna
177. Beating	'marta
178. Having beaten	'marita, 'marida
179. I beat	ʌū'marta
180. Thou beatest	tū 'marta
181. He beats	tè 'marta
182. We beat	à 'marte
183. You beat	tu 'marte
184. They beat	tən 'marte
185. I beat (Past)	mī 'mara
186. Thou beatest	{ tuī (Rājput) or tī (Megh- Thakkur) 'mara
187. he beat.	'ṭeni 'mara
188. We beat	ḍe 'mara
189. You beat	tūe 'mara
190. They beat	'ṭenḍ 'māra
191. I am beating	ʌū 'mare 'kṛtta 'ṣā
192. I was beating	ʌū 'mare 'kṛtta tia (or thia)
193. I had beaten	mī 'marura tia (or thia)
194. I may beat	ʌū 'marā
195. I shall beat	ʌū mārna
196. Thou wilt beat	tū mārta
197. He will beat	tè mārta
198. He shall beat	à mārne
199. You will beat	tu mārle
200. They will beat	tən mārle
201. I should beat	(tè) mī 'marura 'loṛta
202. I am beaten	ʌū 'marhōta or 'marōta
203. I was beaten	('ṭeni) ʌū 'mara

English.	High Rudhāri.
204. I shall be beaten	Añ 'marhona or 'marḡna
205. I go	Añ gāta
206. Thou goest	tñ gāta
207. He goes	tə gāta
208. We go	à gāte
209. Thou go	tu gāte
210. They go	tən gāte
211. I went	Añ ga
212. Thou wentest	tñ ga
213. He went	tə ga
214. We went	à ge
215. You went	tu ge
216. They went	tən ge
217. Go	gā
218. Going	gāta
219. Gone	ga
220. What is your name	tōra chə nañ 'əse
221. How old is this horse?	i 'ghora 'kətre bāriera 'əse
222. How far is it from here to Kashmir?	{ 'ittḥja ki 'mir 'kətri dur 'əse
223. How many sons are there in your father's house?	{ tōre 'bavere 'gharamā 'kətre 'matṭhe ḡsən
224. I have walked a long way to-day.	{ mī az 'bāri 'batt'haṇṭhi
225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister	{ māre 'nikre (or 'badde) 'bavera 'matṭha tēria bēni sēi bjāura 'əse
226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse	{ i 'gharamā 'chrtte 'ghorəri 'kaṭhi 'əse
227. Put the saddle on his back	{ 'kaṭhi tēria 'pittḥitr rakh
228. I have beaten his son with many strips	{ mī tēra 'matṭha 'bāra 'kolre sēi 'mara

- | English. | High Rūdhārī |
|--|---|
| 229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill | { tē 'dharere 'jīratir 'gorūmēi
'care kēta 'ēse |
| 230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree | { tē u 'buttahēṭṭh 'ghorētir
biffura 'ēse |
| 231. His brother is taller than his sister | { tēra br'ha tēria bēnika
'lamma 'ēse |
| 232. The price of that is two rupees and a half | { tēra mul ḍhai ruipajje 'ēse |
| 233. My father lives in that small house | { mārā 'ba'ea u-'nikre 'gharamā
rāta |
| 234. Give this rupee to him | { i rēpajja tēan dea |
| 235. Take those rupees from him | { tēn rēpajje tēka 'ghimna |
| 236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes | { tēan khub 'mara 'kane tēan
rajjia sēi bāndi 'sa'ia |
| 237. Draw water from the well | { khūa māga 'pani kḷḍḍa |
| 238. Walk before me | mīka 'Agru 'Agru 'cala |
| 239. Whose boy comes behind you ? | { tōāpata kēra 'matṭha 'Aora 'ēse |
| 240. From whom did you buy that? | { i tūē kēka ghimrua 'ēse |
| 241. From a shopkeeper of the village | { 'gjeūeria 'hattia-'ealeka |

HERODOTUS'S ACCOUNT OF TWO STANDARDS OF MEASURE OF ANCIENT PERSIA COMPARED WITH THE ACCOUNTS OF OLD PERSEE BOOKS.

By Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C. I. E , Ph. D.

INTRODUCTION.

"It is with a feeling of gratitude for having been permitted to finish a work extending over *thirty* years that, after writing this Preface the pen will be laid down". (Grierson in his Preface of Volume I, Part I (1927) p. 1).

While reading the above words of Dr. Sir George Grierson written at the close of his Monumental work, relating to India, I am reminded of the following words of Firdousi (about 941 — 1020 A. C.) at the close of his Monumental work of the Shah-Nameh relating to Persia, uttered about 900 years ago.

سی و پنج سال از سرای سینج
بسی رنج بردم با امید گنج

Si ô panj sâl az sarāye sepanj

Basî ranj bordam ba ûmid-i ganj.

"I bore a good deal of trouble for 35 years in this transient world in the hope of (being rewarded with) money".

Firdousi died disappointed at want of appreciation of his work at the hands of his King. Dr. Grierson has the satisfaction to see, that his monumental work is appreciated not only by his sovereign, but by an admiring number of scholars. Firdousi's work was in a different line. Sir George Grierson's work is in a different line but it also includes (Vol. X) a linguistic survey of the languages of the Iranian family of Firdousi's Persian. Firdousi wrote his last line with a broken heart. Grierson has written his last lines with "a feeling of gratitude", gratitude towards God,

who inspired him, and gratitude towards all, who helped him. The present Volume, for which this paper is written, is an expression of the gratitude of Indian scholars towards Sir G. Grierson, and, it gives me great pleasure to be associated with this work, expressive of gratitude. Sir George Grierson's name has often come to my lips in some other directions. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Anthropological Society of Bombay, of which I am a member since its very foundation, and of which I was the Honorary Secretary for a long period of about 30 years, I remember him as a past-President of our Society. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which I have the pleasure and honour of being the President to-day, I think of Sir George Grierson as the Honorary Fellow of the Society and as the recipient of its Campbell Medal, in the Committee of the selection of which I had the pleasure of acting. All these associations and thoughts and to the pleasure of doing honour to one who has served India well.

OBJECT OF THE PAPER.

The object of the paper is to present a Note upon old Iranian standards of weight and measures, as described in the writings of Herodotus in old Iranian books.

ARTABA.

Herodotus, while speaking of the power of the Babylonian Empire says :— “Whereas there are twelve months in the year, the Babylonian territory provides him (the King) with subsistence for four months and all the rest of Asia for the remaining eight; thus the territory of Assyria amounts to a third part of the power of all Asia, and the government of this region which the Persians call Satrapy, is considerable; since it yielded a full *artaba* of silver every day to Tritdechmes, son of Artabazus, who held this district from the King; the *artaba* is a Persian measure, containing three Attic chaemices more than the Attic medimnus”.¹

(1) Herodotus Book I, 192. Cary's Translation (1889) p. 83.

Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson gives a table which helps us to know the weight of an artaba. He says:— "This (artaba) is the same name as the Artab of modern Egypt and, like the medimnus, is a corn measure. The artab is nearly five English bushels and contains 8 med. This too is the Latin Modicus, which last was equal to one-sixth of the Greek medimus. But artaba differs in quantity from the *artaba*".

1 Medinus = 48 chaemices or 6 Latin modii.

1 Madius = 8 chaemices.

1 Artaba = 51 chaemices.

1 Artaba = a little more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ modii.

1 Modicus = nearly 1 peck English.

a artaba = $1\frac{3}{4}$ bushel.

When Herodotus gives us an artaba as a standard of measure corn, in the Avesta we find *danarē* as a measure of weight.¹ It is *dānar* in Pahlavi, *dinār* and *danār* دينار or دینار in Persian. According to Anquetil du Perron, a *dinār* is equal to 4 tolas. Now, as one tola is equal to 175 grains, 1 *dinār* (*danare*) comes to $4 \times 175 = 700$ grains.

According to Mr. Harlez also, a *danarē* comes to 700 grains. He speaks of *adamire* as "measure de capacité ou de poids dont la base est une certaine quantité de grain. Elle parrait peser environ 700 grains".²

Now one artaba, as given in the above table, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ bushels. For bushel, we find the following table in our modern books of arithmetic:—

7000 grs. = 1 pound

10 pounds = 1 gallon.

8 gallons = 1 bushel.³

(1) *Vendidad* XVI 7; *Le Zend Avest*, Tome I, Partie II,— page 398, n. 1.

(2) *Avesta*, *Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme* 1881. Translation: It is a measure of capacity or of weight of which the base is a certain quantity or grain. It appears to weigh about 700 grains.

(3) *Cornwell's Arithmetic*,

So 1 bushel is equal to $8 \times 10 \times 7000 = 560000$ grs. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ bushels = 980000 grs.

Thus the Avesta danarē which contains, as said above, 700 grains, is $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of an artaba. In other words, 1 artaba = 1400 danarēs. A danarē, therefore, seems to be a very small measure.

Parsang a Measure of Distance.

Herodotus thus refers to a measure of distance in connection with a road in Persia: – “There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia and the distance is ninety-four parsangs and a half”. (Bk. V 52).

The paresang of Herodotus is the parsang of Pahlavi and farsang فرسانگ of Persian. In the Zand Phalavi glossory, a parasang or farsang is said to be “a measure of one thousand foot marks” (hazār gāmi do pāe)¹

According to Herodotus, “the parasang is equal to thirty stades” (Bk. V, 53). A Greek stade is one furlong². So Herodotus’s parasang is equal to 30 furlongs.

Sir George Rawlinson says that the above figures of Herodotus were correct Greek figures. According to Strabo, some took a parasang to contain 49 stades or furlongs and others 60.

Herodotus seems to be right in taking a parasang (farsang) to be 30 stades or furlongs. He is supported by the Phalavi Zâd-sparm where a farsang is taken to measure 20000 ft. and 20000 ft. come to about 30 furlongs.

(1) Zand-Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Hoshang and Haug p. 42, 1. 2 of the Text, Translation, p. 75.

(2) Webster.

(3) Chapter VI, S. S. B. E. V, p. 170.

ACCENT IN TELUGU SPEECH AND VERSE.

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My object in contributing this article is to show that there is in Telugu, what is commonly known as accent and that it plays a significant part not only in Telugu Speech but also in Telugu Metres. It may look strange to students of Linguistic Science that I should make an effort to prove what is, after all, a natural characteristic feature of any spoken tongue. "Only a machine" says Prof. Blackie¹ "could produce a continuous series of sounds in undistinguished monotonous repetitions like the *tum, tum, tum* of a drum; a rational being using words for a rational purpose to manifest his thoughts and feelings necessarily accents both words and sentences in some way or other." But many Telugu scholars do not seem to have recognised the presence of accent in their own speech. The failure to recognise it is the result of a prejudice against the spoken tongue. About eighteen years ago, when the Government of Madras accepting the views of the Modern School of thought recognised the spoken Telugu as a proper medium of instruction in all the Educational institutions, a monster memorial was presented by the conservative Telugu Academy to the Government, in the name of the whole Telugu population, praying that "Classical" and not "Modern" Telugu should be the proper medium of instruction. The leaders of the "Classical" school declared in that memorial :— "The Telugu of Nannaya of the 11th century is not different from that of Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu of to-day. The language of the one is the same as that of the other. The same rules of grammar, rhetoric and prosody govern both. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the literary

1. Place and power of Accent in Language in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1871—quoted in *Encyclopædia Britannica* Vol. I. pp. 80—81.

language is archaic or antiquated as the few advocates of the Modern School represent it to be." In the opinion of the leaders of the "Classical" school, the Telugu language has undergone no change and has, therefore, no history; and the rules of the old Telugu grammars govern or must govern and fix the Telugu language for ever! But these grammars as Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu stated in his autobiography (Vol. II. p. 156) treat only of the ancient poetic dialect and were prepared before the cultivation of the Telugu Prose. As the spoken dialect was not the subject of study for the grammarians, the question of accent did not arise. The opinion of the classical school prevailed and thanks to the influence of its leaders, the Government of Madras had to withdraw its recognition of "Modern" Telugu and the Syndicate of the University of Madras announced that "it is not at present in a position to recognise what is known as Modern Telugu for University purposes."¹ The very idea of accent in Telugu is not, therefore, appealing to advocates of the classical school; in the first place, it refers to the spoken tongue that deserves no study; and in the second place, it was not noticed by the old grammarians and it is, therefore, a foreign product that should be boycotted!

Nevertheless, there is accent in Telugu. It may not be so strong and distinct as in English. "That the accentuation of some languages is more distinct, various and effective than that of others is beyond question but there are, none so far as we know, in which its power is not felt. The statement sometimes made that the French have no accent in their words can only mean that their accent is less emphatic or less variously so than that of certain other nations. If it means more; it is not merely an error but an absurdity."² The same may be said of Telugu.

Ordinarily it is the first syllable of a word that has the main accent as in 'palēka (a plank or slate), 'veduru³ (bamboo),

1. The modern school has, since then been steadily making progress and gaining strength in the Telugu country.

2. Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. I, p. 81.

3. The medial d as in this word is more a fricative than a stop.

'sagemu (half) 'enimidi (eight). In words of more than four syllables, which are generally compounds, the secondary accent may fall on the prominent syllable of the words or particles that enter into the compound. The ordinary man is not conscious of the composition of the word but nevertheless accentuates as accurately as the grammarian. Ex. 'mage ,tauemu (manliness), 'telusu'konu (to know), 'velikila,paḍu (to fall flat on the back). In polysyllabic words which are not compounds, the secondary accent is rarely noticed. palu kuduru, may mean 'they speak or say' or 'the arrangement of teeth', but the difference in meaning is brought out by accentuation. In the former sense, it is 'palukuduru and in the second sense, it is ,palu 'kuduru. 'reṇḍ ,eḍḷe 'baṇḍḷu means carriages (each) drawn by two bullocks, while 'reṇḍ 'eḍḷe ,baṇḍḷu means two bullock-carts.

The final syllable of a Telugu word is generally unaccented; but if it is a significant particle, the secondary accent may fall on it. 'ka:ni (but), 'ka:,ni: (let it be) are etymologically the same; ka:n means 'to become' and i: means 'give (thou)'. The ordinary Telugu man is quite ignorant of this derivation; but accentuates correctly to bring about the difference in meaning. The final i in ka:ni was originally i: but became short as it was unaccented. The final short, unaccented and therefore weak vowel disappears in liaison when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. 'va:ḍu (he) + 'appaḍu (then) + 'uṇḍenu (was) = 'va : 'ḍappa 'ḍuṇḍenu.

'atəni (his) + 'odde (a particle denoting place) was in old Telugu 'atəni 'jodde (with or near him) because i(j) was in old Telugu, a glide. In modern Telugu, such glides are disappearing. So, one would expect in modern Telugu, the form 'atə,nodde and so it is in the speech of some Telugus. In my speech as in the case of many others, a bilabial voiced fricative has developed before the initial back vowels o and u. So, we hear, 'atəni 'vodde 't a: ʈi (of palm) + 'a:ku (leaf) = t a: ʈi 'ja:ku = 'ta:,tə:ku. The

second form is of later Telugu and the **ə** : sound is the result of the assimilation of **a** : with the palatal **i**.

In words where the first syllable has a short vowel and the second syllable has a long vowel the accent is on the second syllable:—**su'ma** : [from **tsu** : **ḍu-ma** : look thou !], **i'de** : (Is it this ? or It is only this), **kə'da** : (verily, is it not ?). The final vowel in such words is accented and strong and does not, therefore, disappear when it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel:—

'ni : **v-** **'iṇṭi-** **'voddan-** **'uṇṭa** : **vu** **su'ma** : **'ippuḍe** :
 you house near remain look ! now only
 (= note)

'vasta:nu. **i'de** : — **'atən(i)** — **'illu** **kə'da** : — **'ani**
 I come this only his house verily that
'ne : **n—'anu,konna:nu.**
 I thought

In the old Telugu form **,atə'da** (it is only he) the final syllable had the primary accent though it had only a short vowel but since the tendency is, in later Telugu, to shift the accent to the first syllable unless the previously accented syllable had a long vowel, **'atəḍe** developed as a dialectal form, but the force of the particle **a** at the end of the word could not be brought out unless that vowel was clearly pronounced. Hence, has developed the modern form **'atə'de** : **'atə,ḍe** :

The old Telugu form **ko'landi** (of measurable capacity, size, number etc.; limited; little; few) has gradually undergone several modifications with the tendency to shift the accent to the first syllable:—**ko** **'lādi**, **'kolədi**, **'koldi**, **'koddi**.¹

The evolution of some of the modern from the old Telugu forms illustrates the gradual disappearance of the unaccented syllables. For want of space, I shall content myself with a few typical examples:—

1. A few more similar examples are given under syncope below.

1. Aphesis:—*ə'van* (he) (Prem. Dravidian) > *ə'vanu* > (ə) *'vaṇḍu* > *'va : ṇḍu* > *'vā : ḍu* > *'vaḍu*
2. Apheresis:—*wi 'lāti* (foreign from Hindusthani-wilāyati) *lā : ti*
3. Apocope:—*uṇḍeḍu* adj. remaining, staying) > *uṇḍe* : ; *'uṇṭini* (I was) > *'uṇṭin* > *'uṇṭi* > *'uṇṭi*.
4. Syncope:—*'moleke* (sprout) > *'molkə* > *'mokka* ; *'ma : ninedi* (is cured) > *'ma:nindi* ; *'unnedi* (is) > *undi* ; *'koṭṭina:va : ḍe-nu* (that beat person am, i. e. I am the person who beat or I beat) > *'koṭṭi-na:ḍe-nu* > *koṭṭina : nu* > *koṭṭə:nu* > *koṭṭə : > koṭṭə ; 'ti : sitinv-'e : nin* (removed-you if; i. e. if you removed) > *'ti : sit (i)-(v)i-'eṇi* > *'ti:sit (i)-(v)-'eṇi* > *ti : sit (i)-(v)-'e:n* > *'ti:sit'ḍe* > *'ti : site :* > *'ti : s (i) tē :* > *'ti:ste:*²

The syncope in the following words in due to the shifting of the accent to the first syllable':—*'kalte* from *kə'lante* (affliction); *'taltu,-konu* from *tə'lantu,-konu* (to think about); *'uṇṭi-'paṇḍu* from *eṇuṇṭi-'paṇḍu* (plantain-fruit).

The part played by accent in determining the rhythm of Telugu metres has been altogether ignored by the writers on Telugu prosody. So far as metres borrowed from Sanskrit are concerned, they have simply translated the rules laid down in the Sanskrit works; and so far as genuine Telugu metres are concerned, they have adopted the classes of *gaṇams* or feet arranged for Canarese metres and modified them in accordance with the structure of the Telugu verses they had before them. The classification of these *gaṇams* or feet shows however, that they had felt the force of accent in determining the rhythm; but they made no reference to it. Under *Sūrya gaṇams*, they provided for a trochee and a tribrach but not for an iambus; though it 'has three moras

1. *va : ṇḍu* from *ə'van* had developed before the tendency to shift the accent to the first syllable commenced.

2. The earliest form is a compound *'ti : siti-vi + 'e : nin* (removed-you+if) and was used in the second person singular; and after-vi (a suffix denoting second person, singular) was dropped, the later forms came to be used indiscriminately in every number and person.

3. The development of *koḍḍi* from *ko'landi* is traced above,

or measures as the former two have. The exclusion of this kind of foot is, indeed, very significant because in the Telugu metres where these **Sūrya gaṇams** find a place, the first syllable of each foot should be accented and while it is possible to have an accent on the first syllable in the case of the two **gaṇams** included in the group, it is impossible to have the first syllable accented in an iambus.¹ But as the **gaṇams** are arranged with reference to quantity but not quality or accent, no safeguard is provided against the use of a foot of three short syllables in such a way that the first syllable of this foot may be the last syllable of a word and the second syllable may begin a new word. When used in this way, the foot is not a tribrach but practically an amphibrach with the middle of the three syllables having an accent. For example a poet held in high esteem by the advocates of classical Telugu composed the following line (vide **Pracaṇḍa-Cānakya** p.94).

'naruni | 'nuddhe | tē 'gati | ki 'raja | mu ḡanu
man high State quickly

This is a line which should, according to the rules of Prosody, contain five **Sūrya gaṇams** and as it has the required **gaṇams**, it is considered to be quite correct. But it runs like a piece of prose having no rhythm at all. I wonder if any could readily say to what kind of metre it might belong. The absence of rhythm is due to the displacement of accents in the third and fourth feet and the absence of any accent in the fifth foot. A secondary accent may be thrown on the second syllable in the fifth foot but that would only make it as bad as the third or fourth. Without altering the sense, it is possible to improve the rhythm thus:—

'naruni | 'goppa | 'daśeku | 'tvarita | 'gatini

Similarly the writers on Prosody have provided for six **Indragaṇams**, four of which have, each, five moras or measures.²

1. This feature is noted in the case of Canarese mora metres also. "Observe that no foot dare begin with an Iambus i. e. — | Such a foot being foreign to true Canarese metres" vide Nagavarma's Canarese Prosody edited by Rev. F. Kittel, pp. 76 and 98.

2. A short syllable has one mora or measure and a long syllable two moras or measures.

- (1) — — — (5 moras or measures) (ta-gaṇam) Antibacchicus
 (2) — — — „ (ra-gaṇam) Amphimacrus.
 (3) — — — (4 „) (bha-gaṇam) Dactyl
 (4) — — — — (5 „) (sa-lam)
 (5) — — — — „ (na-gaṇam)
 (6) — — — — (4 „) (naḷam) Proceleusmatic.
 but not for — — — (4 „) (ja-gaṇam) Amphibrachys.
 or — — — — (5 „) (ja-gaṇam) Bacchicus.

The first six feet may be indiscriminately used in some Telugu metres as they have a similar rhythmic character. The Canarese prosodists note the difference in the total number of moras or measures among these feet. For example, in a verse known as *siṣam* while the Telugus use any of these six, the Canarese use the feet of only five moras as measures each and exclude the third and the sixth. In my opinion, their *siṣam* is more rhythmical than the Telugu *siṣam*. The exclusion of the last two feet where the first short syllable is immediately followed by a long one is as significant as the exclusion of the iambus under *Sūryagaṇams*. But as there is no reference to accent, it is possible, without violating the conventional rules, to compose a line in such a manner that the first short syllable of the fourth, fifth or sixth foot is the last unaccented short syllable of the previous word and the second syllable of the foot is the first accented short syllable of a new word ; or that the last syllable of — — — — begins a new word and is therefore accented. In either case the cast of accents does not harmonise with the cast of the feet and the line does not run well. The following lines satisfy the conventional rules of prosody but do not run well for reasons explained above.

1. 'ṇani : 'ja | nakuḷa 'put | ruṇaku 'jin | ne'tane
 (mother and father to son childhood)

'man | da vi'va : he | munu 'se:si | ne 'phale | mu 'gaḍe
 at marriage of having done fruit is it not

2. 'kannu | le 'karevu | 'dire 'gaṇ | ge 'ganu | goṇṭi
 (of eyes want to remove water saw (I))

The first line belongs to a *siṣem* and should have 6 *Indragaṇams* + 2 *Sūryagaṇams*. The second line belongs to a *teṭṭegiti* and should have 1 *Sūryagaṇam* + 2 *Indragaṇams* + 2 *Sūryagaṇams*. To maintain the rhythm, of which we can have an idea from the verses composed by good poets, each of the *gaṇams* should have run of the ordinarily the accent on the first syllable. In the case of the *Indra gaṇams* it may fall on the first or the third or both. In none of them should the second or the last have an accent.

With slight alterations the rhythm of these two lines may be improved thus:—

- (1) 'pitarulu | 'sutuneku | 'pinne'ka:l | | a:nə-vi |
 parents to son childhood-time
 'vā:hambu | 'se:sina | 'phalemu | 'ga:de
 marriage of having done fruit is it not ?
- (2) 'gāṅge | 'gaṇu :gonti | 'kanṇu le | 'kāreṇu | 'diṛe
 water found (I) of eyes want to remove.

The metrical rule relating to a kind of verse known as *Vṛṣabhagati-rageḍe* says that every line should contain 28 moras or measures with a *cæsura* after the 14th measure; but says nothing about the distribution of the longs and shorts or about the cast of accents. So, the line may vary from one of fourteen long syllables (amounting to twenty-eight measures) to twenty-eight short syllables. The following lines are all in accordance with the rule but no two are of the same rhythm and the last has no rhythm at all. They show how rhythm varies with accent:

- (1) 'ceṇini 'badinēdi | 'celiḷe 'palukani |
 in the ear that fell friend's speech that
 'ciluke 'palukulek | - 'alere 'yendenu
 of parrot to words to be delighted began
- (2) 'cilekele | 'palukulu | 'vinebade 'ga: |
 of parrots words are heard when

'celi 'palu | 'kani 'bhrame | 'paḍenu ge 'da: |
friend's word that surprised fell verily

(3) 'cilekele | 'palukulu | 'vinin-'antan |
of parrots words as soon as heard
'celi palk- | 'anije: | 'bhrame 'nonden |
of friend's word that indeed surprise got

(4) 'oke 'cilake | 'paluku 'vini | 'talacen |
one parrot's word having heard thought.
'oppuga: | 'celi paluke | 'janetsun
rightly friend's word saying

(5) 'cileke 'palukulu 'vin-n-'antene:
parrot's words as soon as heard
'celje: 'paliken —'ani 'talacinedi
friend only spoke that (she) thought

According to the metrical rule all these are known as lines of *vr̥ṣabheṣati-rageḍe*; but I would give each of the first four a separate name and refuse to accept the fifth as a line of poetry as there is no definite rhythm in it.

The Telugus have borrowed the Sanskrit Vṛttams and Arya metres and have adopted the metric rules given in Sanskrit works on Prosody. But neither the classification of Vṛttams nor the Scansion has any relation to the rhythm in them. A line is scanned not into rhythmic feet but into feet each of three syllables. The cast of gaṇams or feet prescribed for a kind of verse does not determine the rhythm. For example the Halamukhi Vṛttam is defined as a verse of four lines, each having ra-gaṇam, na-gaṇam and sa-gaṇam i.e.

— — — | — — — | — — — |

The Telugu verse given in an authoritative work on Prosody, to define and illustrate this kind of verse runs thus :—

kin̄k̄eri: kṝte sure vara:
paṇ̄keja:te dale najana:
poṇ̄kemaṇu ra-na-sa-gaṇamul
saṇ̄ke le:ke halamukhi-kin

It is impossible to determine the rhythmic nature of this kind of verse from the definition and illustration given here. On experimenting I have found that the cast of longs and shorts given here lends itself to four varieties of rhythm and I illustrate them below:—

(N. B. The order of longs and shorts is the same in every line given below.)

- (1) — — | — — | — — — | — — |
 'sauri* 'muddu 'paluku vi'nan
 'sauri 'mo: mu 'sogasu ga'nan
 'sauri 'to: den 'epudu c'anan
 'go: ru 'tsundu 'madini se'da:

- (2) — — | — — — | — — — |
 'sauri 'pa: tēlenu 'vinuma:
 'sauri 'ru: pēmunu 'ganuma:
 'sauri 'centēkunu 'januma:
 'sauri 'cittēmunēn 'iduma:

- (3) — — | — — — | — — — —
 'sauri 'pa: tēlu 'vinutēkun
 'sauri 'ru: pēmu 'ganutēkan
 'sauri 'centēku 'janutēkan
 'go: ru 'cundēnu 'manēmunēn

- (4) — — — | — — | — — — —
 'nja: jēma: 'prija 'nuḍavuma:
 'pre: jēsin 'nanun aḍēvilo:
 'ba: jude: 'ninu vedēkutsun
 'to: jēde: 'madi pagulēga: n

The orthodox scholar would call every one of these verses a **Halāmukhī Vṛttam** and scan every line in the same way as is indicated in the definition; but I should like to give each a separate name and scan the lines in the way indicated above. The difference in rhythm should be explained with reference to the changing position of the accents.

* For the palatal in Sibilent in Sanskrit words I have used this symbol §

The Telugu **Kanda m** is based on the Sanskrit **Aryā metre**. It consists of four lines, the first and third of which are shorter, each containing three feet and the second and fourth are longer, each containing five feet. **Ganams** of four measures each, only, are to be used. There is, further, a restriction regarding the use of the amphibrach. It should be avoided in the first and third **ganams** of lines 1 and 3 and in the second, fourth and fifth **ganams** of lines 2 and 4. The third **ganams** of lines 2 and 4 should be either an amphibrach or a foot of four short syllables. But as there is nowhere any reference to accent, no safeguard has been provided against the abuse of a **ganam** of four short syllables. A line may be composed in such a way that the first syllable of a **ganam** of four short syllables is the last syllable of a previous word and the second syllable begins a new word. Such a **ganam** has the same rhythm as an amphibrach. For example if in 'Va:ni'paluku, ni'paluku is taken as a **ganam** of four short syllables it has the same rhythm as an amphibrach like ni'palku in 'Va:ni palku (palku is a variant from paluku—vide examples under Syncope). So, if such a **ganam** of four short syllables with accent on the second syllable is used in a place where the amphibrach should not be used, there is a practical, though not a theoretical, violation of the rule. The following lines illustrate the point.

(1) 'varṣemu | 'kurisina | di'ga:ne

(2) 'varṣemu 'kurisina | di'ganuke

The orthodox scholar would condemn the first line and accept the second line if they were used as the first or the third lines of a **Kandam** because the amphibrach comes in the third foot where, according to the metrical rule, it should have been avoided; but a **ganam** of four short syllables, whatever be its nature, is not so excluded. But I would condemn this **ganam** because it has an accent on the second syllable and is, therefore, as out of place as an amphibrach in this particular place. With a slight alteration the rhythm of the line may be improved thus:—

varjəmu | 'kurisenu | 'ganukənu

Similarly, I would condemn the use of a **gaṇam** of four short syllables where the second has no accent, in the third foot of line 2 or 4, because that is the place reserved for a **gaṇam** of four short syllables or an **amphibrach** and the **gaṇam** of four short syllables should be of the same rhythm as an **amphibrach**. The orthodox scholar would condemn the first and accept the second of the following lines, if they are the second or fourth lines of a **Kandam**, because in the first of the following lines, an **amphibrach** is used in the second foot where it should have been avoided and in the third foot, a **dactyl** is used while an **amphibrach** or a **gaṇam** of four short syllables should have been used according to the metrical rules:—

(1) 'ninu 'ne: | nu 'goltu , 'nepɖunu||'ninne: | 'talatun.

(2) 'ninu ne: | nu 'golutu | 'nepɖunu||'ninne: | 'talatun.

you I worship always you only I think of

But I would condemn both because **nu'golutu** and **'nepɖunu**, though they are each a **gaṇam** of four short syllables and can, therefore, be indiscriminately used according to the metrical rule, are respectively of the same rhythmic effect as **nu'goltu** and **'nepɖunu** and if in the first of the above two lines the metrical rule is theoretically violated, in the second, it is practically so. With slight alterations, the rhythm of the line may be improved thus:—

'ninu 'ne: | 'nirətemu | nu 'golutu | 'ninne: | 'talatun

you ,I always worship you only I think of

By using the **gaṇams** of four short syllables, each with varying accent, it is possible to compose **Kandams** of varying rhythm:—

1. 'ciluke | 'paluku | 'cevini | 'baɖine |

parrot word in the ear as it fell

1. The idea contained in the verses is the same: "Hearing the parrot's voice a lover thought it was his sweetheart's and called to her; but the parrot cried as if it meant to say it was not".

- 'celiḥe | 'palike | -n-'anutsu | 'dalēci | 'celini | 'biluvē | -'ga:
 friends spoke saying having thought friend called while
 cilukē | 'japuḍu | palike-n-'atēni |
 parrot then spoke his
 'celiḥe | 'paluku | 'ga:d-ē | 'tantsu | 'ceppu | -n-'atulu | :-ga
 friend's word not saying in form like
2. 'cilukē | palukulu || 'vininē | d'ane
 'celi || 'palike | -n-'ani 'madi || 'dalēci | 'celija: || 'janēga :
 'cilukē | 'jappuḍd || 'palike 'ni :
 'celi || -j-'etsetē | 'galē 'dani || 'celiḥe | 'cittame || 'larpan
3. 'celi 'paluke | 'jagu-n-'anutsu | -n-'okē
 'cilukē | 'paluku 'vini | 'madidalēci | 'nilici 'canē- | ga :
 'celi-j-'etsetē- | n-'unnēd-'ani | j-a :
 'cilukē | | j-'okē 'taruvu | 'paji'ni lici' | ce:se 'rutē | mun

The first runs with three-measure-gaṇams; the second with (3+4) seven-measure-gaṇams and the third with five-measure-gaṇams.

The following verse has no rhythm at all as the cast of accents is not based on any principle :—

'vanēmu 'naḍumēnu vi'sē:ḥe 'ra
 menijamul-'agu 'tarulanu 'sumēmule-n'eṭule 'ce:
 seno 'gade 'ja:'brahme 'jani 'kaḍu
 n-'alērutṣuṇḍ' ēge va'santuḍu 'pilice 'nannuun

The orthodox scholar would accept all these verses as **Kandams** because every one of them is in accordance with the metrical rules. But I would discard the last as no verse and give each of the first three a separate name.

The following line may be scanned according to the conventional method either as a line of **te:ṭēgi:ti** or as a line of **dvipadē** :—

- (1) 'de : vē | ki : 'sutu | d-'antē 'de : | di : pje'maine
 (2) 'de : vēki : | 'sutud-'antē | 'de : di:pjē | 'ma : ne

But the scansion as a line of **dvipadē** (3) **Indra-gaṇams** + 1 **Sūrya gaṇam**) agrees with the cast of accents and is, therefore, natural as is shown in the second example given above but the

scansion as a line of **Tēṭagṭi** (1 **Sūrya gaṇam** + 2 **Indra gaṇams** + 2 **Sūrya gaṇams**) does not agree with the cast of accents and is, therefore, quite artificial and conventional for a line of this type.

The examples shown above are, I hope, clear enough to convince the reader, whether he knows Telugu or not, that the conventional method of scansion has no reference to rhythm; that the existing metrical rules are not adequate enough to determine the rhythm of a verse; that the rhythm varies with accent as well as the number of measures and that the natural scansion should be made with reference to the cast of accents in a line.

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